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A

HISTORY OF NEW YORK,

FOR

SCHOOLS.

BY WILLIAM DUNLAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author of the History of New York, for Schools, has long been engaged in collecting materials for a history of the city and environs, from the earliest period to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. His intention is, that the City of New York shall be the central point in his work, *the environs* a wide circuit, comprehending all that is connected with *that point*, or that can elucidate its history. This work he intends to publish by subscription; and it must necessarily be years before its accomplishment.

In the mean time, he presents these little volumes as precursors, in the hopes of inspiring the rising generation with a desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of their country, a love of her institutions, and a reverence for the men to whom they owe the blessings they enjoy. That these men may be known, they must be separated from the mass, which an indiscriminate tendency to applaud, or condemn, has generated. No one can appreciate Washington who is unacquainted with the characters of those who endeavoured to subvert him.

If this abridged work is adopted in our schools, the youth of New York will be prepared for the study of a more comprehensive history of the State; and it shall be the endeavour of the author to present it to the publick.

HISTORY OF NEW YORK,

FOR SCHOOLS.

CHAPTER I.

The interlocutors of the second volume are three boys : John, aged fourteen ; William, aged twelve ; Philip, aged ten ; and their Uncle, aged seventy-one.

John. Now, sir, we are anxious to hear your account of the war of the revolution.

Un. The time that has passed since those events so interesting to Americans, has given an opportunity to the studious lover of truth for examining the various and oftentimes contradictory statements which the prejudiced, the misguided, the careless, and the honestly industrious have left us. It is only by assiduous study, and impartial comparison, that we can hope to arrive at the truth of any history. I shall give you my views of the men engaged in the warfare we have now to consider, and of the civil and military transactions of the time, after having weighed the evidence which I can find with as much critical sagacity as I possess, and with the cool deliberation that characterizes old age. You must all, as you advance in your studies, read and determine for yourselves. My aim is to point the way for your subsequent attainment of knowledge, and to remove some of the impediments in your path.

John. We are sure of *that*, sir.

Un. At the time of the stamp act, all America was united. In the ten years that followed, England had

sown the seeds of dissension among the colonists; so that in 1775, there were many who were ready to join the standard of Great Britain when it was displayed in hostility on our shores. Numbers of these were recent emigrants from the territories of England, and they were excited against the native colonists by the numerous governors and officers spread among them. We are now to see the result of these contending passions and interests. The collecting hordes of licentious troops at Boston, and the injuries inflicted on the people of Massachusetts, led, as we have seen, to preparations for resistance by arms; and the blood shed at Concord and Lexington was the signal for the most daring patriots to commence hostilities elsewhere. Some of the eastern men immediately saw the necessity of securing the military posts on Lake Champlain; and, crossing into the province of New York, they seized Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Wm. I remember, sir, what Ethan Allen said when the officer who commanded at old "Ti," (as they called it,) asked him in whose name he demanded the surrender: "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress," said he.

Un. He was a rough character; and his answer, though striking, and likely to be remembered, was not such as reverence to the name of the Creator, or just notions of his attributes, would have inspired in most men. Allen secured Ticonderoga, and Seth Warner seized on Crown Point.

Wm. These were the men who were so turbulent in the disputes with New York. But now, sir, we have come to the time of the battle of Bunker's hill; and I'm sure I always thought General Warren was the hero of that day; and I have read—

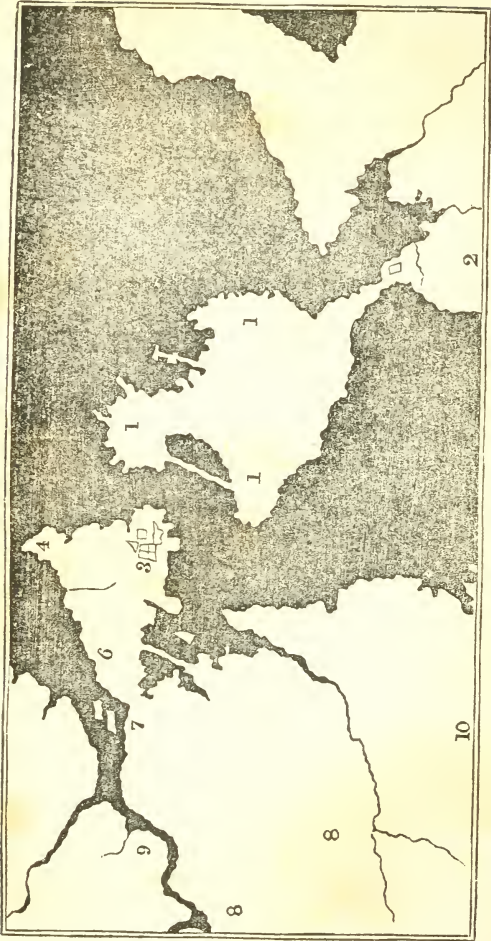
Un. No. As I have said, Colonel Prescott was the *commander*; there were *many* heroes.

Wm. But, Uncle—

John. Hush! surely Uncle knows best.

Un. This first battle, (for the affair of Lexington was a succession of skirmishes without order or design, only as the people rushed individually to avenge the cry of blood,) this first battle I have studied, collated the several accounts, and will give you the result of my deliberate inquiries. I believe you may depend upon the facts I shall state. I have made a little sketch for you that you may understand the relative situations of Boston and Bunker's hill: the English army, and the provincial forces. No. 2—Is the approach to Roxbury. Nos. 1, 1, and 1—Boston. No. 3—Charlestown. No. 4—Morton's point. No. 6—Bunker's hill; the line between 4 and 6 is Breede's hill, or the line of the battle. No. 7—Is Charlestown neck; and the white spots on each side are the English floating batteries. No. 9—Is the river Mystick. Nos. 8 and 8—American lines. No. 10—Cambridge. You see that Boston is on a peninsula, projected northward from the mainland at Roxbury. Another peninsula projects from the north, on which is Charlestown with Bunker's and Breede's hills. These hills overlook the north part of Boston, and are connected by an isthmus to the main land, on the north, as Boston is by another on the south. To the east is the harbour and the sea; to the west is water dividing the English army and the town, from the American troops at Cambridge, and the adjacent villages. On the 16th of June, 1775, it was determined by General Ward, (who commanded the provincials,) in council with his officers, to take possession of Bunker's hill, which you see is here.

John. Yes, sir, to the northward of Breede's hill, and nearer the Charlestown neck or the isthmus.



Un. Of course further from Boston. In consequence of this determination, Colonel William Prescott, of Peperill, a veteran officer, who had served in the French wars, and now commanded six or seven hundred militia, was sent with his regiment, and some additional men, among whom were one hundred and twenty Connecticut troops under Captain Knowlton, in all about one thousand, to take possession of, and throw up a redoubt on, Bunker's hill. At the head of his gallant yeomen, he, (dressed in his summer suit and morning gown,) departed from camp in the evening of the 16th of June, and by mistake, or willing to place his redoubt nearer to the enemy, passed over Bunker's hill and commenced operations on Breede's. These men, as well as those who afterward joined them under the veteran Starke, were in their ordinary dress, armed with guns of various calibres, to which they had to fit their bullets as they could, and they were scantily supplied with powder. Bayonets, of course, they had none. All night, though so near the English ships and troops, they worked undiscovered, and had thrown up a rude fortification by the dawn of day, when, as soon as they were seen, the cannon of the English were opened upon them, but with little or no effect, and they proceeded in finishing their redoubt. Prescott saw that the post would be disputed, and that not only fresh men, who were free from the effects of a night's watching and labour, would be wanted, but a greater number than were with him; he, therefore, sent Mr. Brooks (afterward governor of Massachusetts when an independent state) to Cambridge for a reinforcement. Brooks proceeded on foot, for no horse was with the detachment, and it was near noon before the additional troops arrived on the ground. They were commanded by Colonel Starke, who had, as well as Prescott, been an officer

of provincials in the former wars, and was destined to be famous afterward as the hero of Bennington. The troops under Starke had of course to pass over Charlestown neck to reach Breede's hill. Prescott and his command had crossed unseen in the night; but now the British ships and floating batteries cannonaded, with a cross fire, this only road by which Starke and his men could reinforce their comrades. The veteran led his soldiers on deliberately, notwithstanding this exposed situation; and being asked by a young officer if it would not be better to hasten the march, "the sooner to get out of the range of the enemy's shot?" Starke coolly answered, "one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones."

Wm. Huzza for brave Colonel Starke!

Un. Starke and his companions found Prescott in the redoubt; which was square, with about sixty feet front towards Boston, and a breastwork of fifty or sixty feet extending to the left of the redoubt towards Mystick river, which you see here. Part of the British army had already crossed over from Boston in their boats under cover of a cannonade from their ships, and had landed at Morton's point, which you see here. Starke said a few words to his men, told them to give three cheers, and advance to a rail fence which extended farther still to the left. They plucked up another rail fence that was near, put them together, and filled up the vacancies with new mown grass, which they found at hand.

John. But this would not resist bullets.

Un. It served to give confidence to the men placed behind it, who could more deliberately take aim at an enemy. In the mean time, General Gage, the English commander-in-chief, had been pouring over his veteran troops from Boston to dislodge the Americans. Read that extract from his letter to the British government from which we know some partic-

ulars of this famous day. It is dated 25th June, 1775.

John. "An action happened on the 17th, between his majesty's troops and a large body of the rebel forces. The 'Lively' ship of war gave the alarm at daybreak. The rebels were plainly seen at work raising a battery on the heights of Charlestown against the town of Boston. In a few hours a battery from Boston played upon their works."

Un. That was from Cop's hill, here, on the north side of Boston.

John. "Ten companies of grenadiers, ten companies of light infantry, with the fifth, thirty-eighth, forty-third, and fifty-second battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under Major-general Howe, and Brigadier-general Pigott, were embarked and landed without opposition; the rebels being kept within their works by the fire of some ships of war."

Un. And he might have added that the Americans had no artillery, and kept their musket balls for close fight. Go on.

John. "The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry on the right; the grenadiers on the left; two battalions behind them, and two more in a third line."

Un. Thus you see the light infantry would be opposed to the rail fence, and the grenadiers to the redoubt. Read on.

John. What follows seems to be a memorandum made by you, sir.

Un. Read it.

John. "Gage represents the rebels as being in great force, and his veterans as waiting for reinforcements. After the arrival of a second detachment from Boston, he says, 'the troops formed in two lines, advanced and commenced the attack by a sharp cannonade from their field pieces; the lines

frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry were directed to force the left point of the breastwork, to take the rebel line in flank; the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the fifth and fifty-second battalions.' All this was executed 'with perseverance;' and the rebels forced from their 'strong holds;' but he says nothing of the repeated repulses his veteran forces met with."

Un. You see by this with what a powerful array of the finest troops in the world, accompanied by field artillery, the commander-in-chief acknowledges that the attack was made; and we know that it was directed on raw, half-armed provincials, defending a paltry redoubt thrown up in a few hours, and a rail fence stuffed with grass. Previous to the commencement of the battle, Doctor Warren joined Prescott in the redoubt; who knowing that this distinguished gentleman had been appointed a general by the *provincial congress* of Massachusetts, (then sitting at Watertown, and of which he had been president,) asked him if he came to take the command; and was answered in the negative. He said that he was not commissioned; that he came to serve under him as a volunteer. Gen. Putnam who had been at the redoubt in the morning, had gone back for reinforcements; and appears to have been, during the action, stationed in the rear, and on or near Bunker's hill.

John. So that Prescott was the commanding officer.

Un. Undoubtedly. But his attention appears to have been given to the defence of the redoubt; while Starke commanded at the rail fence, and along the line to the Mystick river. General Charles Lee, whose opinion on this subject is entitled to high consideration, mentions Starke, Prescott, Little, Gardner, Nixon, and two gentlemen of the name of Brewer, as deserving immortal honour on this oc-

casion ; but is silent with respect to men who were by the vulgar considered the heroes of the day. Both Prescott and Starke cautioned their respective companions not to return the fire of their adversaries until within a short distance of the line of defence, and then to take deliberate aim ; this was strictly attended to ; and when the regular troops had advanced, giving their volleys in systematick order by platoons with little effect, and had reached the distance prescribed by Prescott and Starke, a most deadly fire was opened from the Americans, which strewed the field with killed and wounded ; and appears to have been so unexpected and appalling that the British forces broke in a few minutes and retreated towards the landing-place. In a short time these disciplined troops were again formed, and again advanced. They attempted more than once to turn the left flank of the provincials near the river, but Starke had, in the time allowed by the retreat of the enemy, thrown up a rough work of stones near the beach, behind which a portion of his men lay ready to receive the attack. Again their well directed fire, and the irregular but constant discharge along the line, caused their adversaries to retire with precipitation. Meanwhile a part of the English army had entered Charlestown, and set fire to it, so effectually, that of some hundred buildings, including the church, only a few houses escaped the conflagration. The cannonading of the ships of war, the flames and smoke of the burning town, the conflict along the line from the redoubt to the Mystic river, afforded to the spectators on the hills, steeples, and housetops of Boston, a spectacle of the most imposing and awful nature.

Wm. It was glorious !

John. Was it not dreadful, sir ?

Un. Indeed it was. During this contest, by a

chance shot, fell the highly talented Doctor Warren; a man fitted to guide the councils of his country, or to second her best and bravest in the field.

John. Ought he to have been there, sir?

Un. His motive, doubtless, was to encourage others; and his presence might have that effect. In another part of this terrible conflict was observed a British officer on horseback, the only one so distinguished on the field. His elevation made him conspicuous, and the certain aim of the Yankee yeomanry brought him to the earth a corpse pierced with balls. This was Major Pitcairn; the man by whose orders the first blood was shed at Concord. The carnage of this attack, defence, and retreat, may be estimated by the fact, that of three brothers, the captain and two subalterns of the grenadier company of the forty-seventh regiment, (Wolfe's own,) not one escaped the balls of the despised Americans. I knew them all.

John. All killed, sir?

Un. All borne off the field bleeding; but they all recovered from their wounds. These defeats could not discourage the disciplined soldiers of Britain; and a third time with another reinforcement from Boston, they advanced, and forced the redoubt, where Prescott and his comrades could only resist by a feeble fire, for the men's ammunition was exhausted, and their muskets were without bayonets; they fought with their clubbed firearms, and retired when their brave commander ordered a retreat. The left of the American line was likewise broken, and retired, under cover of a brave company of Connecticut men, directed by a young hero—Captain Knowlton. They covered the retreat on the left; and with a loss, trifling in comparison to that of the victors, these brave men left the field to be mourned over by their conquerors.

Wm. I think we had the best of it !

Un. True, boy, it was so. It was in its consequences altogether in favour of the American cause. It discouraged their adversaries, and has been from that time to this a rallying word and a source of just confidence to all Americans. I have thought the particulars of this event necessary to your knowledge of the subsequent details of the war, when it approached our own city. But we must pass over the remainder of the siege or blockade of Boston. You will read of it especially in General Washington's letters, for in August of this year he took the command at Cambridge.

John. I know, sir, the English were driven from Boston and soon after came to New York. How many men did we lose, sir, at Bunker's hill ?

Un. In the return of killed and wounded on the 17th of June, 1775, I find it stated that Starke's New Hampshire regiment lost fifteen killed, forty-five wounded. Of the Connecticut men, under Knowlton, fifteen were killed and thirty wounded. The Massachusetts men, under Prescott, who defended the redoubt, lost forty-two killed and twenty-eight wounded. Most of these last were bayoneted or shot after their ammunition was expended, and they had only the butts of their guns to defend themselves with. When next we meet I will tell you what happened in this neighbourhood.

CHAPTER II.

John. Uncle, we have heard a great deal of Lieutenant-governor Colden ; what became of him when the war commenced ?

Un. He was then a very old gentleman, and retired to his country-seat near Flushing, Long Island, where he died on the 28th of September, 1776, at the advanced age of eighty-nine.

Wm. He must have seen a great deal in that long life.

Un. In what has occurred relative to Mr. Colden during our story, we have only seen him as a politician, and a king's officer, in very turbulent times; and he did his duty conscientiously no doubt, but unhappily for him it was opposed to the wishes and interests of the people he governed. In his private life he was eminently estimable, and as a literary and scientific character ranked among the first who visited or resided in America.

John. Was he not an American, sir?

Un. No. He was born in Scotland in the year which placed William of Nassau on the throne of England. What year was that?

John. Sixteen hundred and eighty-eight.

Un. He was educated as a physician, and coming to America in 1710, he practised physick with success in Philadelphia. He returned to Great Britain, married in his native land, and brought his bride to New York in 1718. His scientific acquirements recommended him to Governor Hunter, who appointed him surveyor-general, and he held the office of master in chancery. Governor Burnet, in 1720, chose him as one of his council, and as we have seen, he had a large share in governing the province for England from that time forward. But Doctor Colden was an active student of natural history, and the correspondent of most of the scientific men of Europe and America as a philosopher. He has left us many works; among which those on botany, the diseases of America, and others of this nature are less known than his celebrated "History of

the Five Indian Nations," the Iroquois, who held during his time so large a portion of what is now the great State of New York.

John. Then, sir, we are much indebted to Governor Colden.

Un. I should say more to Doctor Colden than to the governor. Be that as it may, let us remember him rather in his scientifick and private, than in his political character; and as such, honour the memory of Cadwallader Colden. He was the ruler of the province during a part of 1775, owing to the absence of Governor Tryon; but his rule was not much more than nominal. For now the people paid more heed to their congresses and committees than to any other authorities. While the important events took place in the neighbourhood of Boston of which we have spoken, the inhabitants of New York were alarmed by threats of further aggressions. Regiments were expected from England, and the *Asia* man-of-war had been ordered from Boston, and anchored off the Battery, in the North river, as if to overawe the city. The troops that had been stationed at New York and in New Jersey had all been withdrawn and concentrated in Boston. But threats and rumours of other regiments intended for this city were propagated, while for the present the seventy-four gun ship was supposed to be sufficient to keep the Sons of Liberty quiet.

Wm. I dare say they found themselves in a mistake.

Un. They were so. The first *outbreak* that I find mentioned, happened in April, when Marinus Willet and John Lamb led or authorized a party of "Liberty boys" to seize a vessel loaded with boards for the British army in Boston. There was likewise a popular meeting, at which Captain Sears made a motion for every man to provide himself

with four-and-twenty rounds of powder and ball. Sears was taken with a warrant and carried before the Mayor. As he defied the authority of the king's officer he was ordered to jail, but the people rescued him, and carried him in triumph through the town with colours flying. A few days after this the account was received of the bloodshed at Concord and Lexington. Upon this the committee called upon the inhabitants to perfect themselves in military discipline, and each man to provide himself with arms and accoutrements. They likewise addressed the lieutenant-governor, and expressed their determined resistance to the measures of the British parliament. He, in his answer, assures them of the gracious intentions of his majesty and his ministers, and complains of the tumults in the city.

John. I suppose, sir, the people did not rely upon his majesty's gracious intentions.

Un. They continued their preparations for resistance. Arms and accoutrements were manufactured and exposed for sale. A night guard of forty men was ordered to be kept at the city hall. This guard seized several persons who were sending off provisions to the English ships. Notwithstanding all these military indications of resistance, the continental congress recommended to the citizens of New York, in the case of arrival of British troops, to permit them to take possession of the barracks, and leave them in quiet while they behaved peaceably, but not to permit them to erect fortifications. They likewise recommended that the warlike stores should be removed from the town, and places of retreat provided for the women and children. They directed that the men should be imbodyed and kept in readiness to repel insult or injury. This is signed, Charles Thompson. Soon after this, Peyton Randolph, the president of the continental congress, retired to at-

tend the assembly of Virginia, and John Hancock was appointed in his place. The provincial congress sat in the city of New York, and the great committee nominated Mr. Isaac Sears to represent the city and county instead of George Folliot, "who declined serving." William Bedlow and John Woodward are nominated members of the committee instead of George Folliot and Samuel Jones, "they having never attended;" and the poll is ordered to be opened for election. Signed, Henry Reinsen.

John. It appears that at this time there were two governments in New York.

Un. Yes. The king's lieutenant-governor and the king's council existed in this city; as did the mayor and common council under the king's authority; and Governor Tryon was hourly expected from England. But the people, in reality, governed by their representatives in congress and committees. The provincial congress recommended the formation of committees in all the counties, and arming all the men. On the 21st of June, General Haldeman, a Swiss officer, who had formerly commanded the British forces in the province, arrived at New York from Boston, and next day Rivington gives in his gazette an account of the exchange of prisoners taken at Lexington. Doctor Warren and General Putnam conducted the English prisoners, under an escort of the Weathersfield company, to the Charlestown ferry, and Major Moncrief landed from the Lively ship of war, to receive them and return Americans for them. This Major Moncrief was an officer of engineers, and connected by marriage with some of our most estimable citizens. It is said that the English officers and wounded men expressed a grateful sense of the humane and kind treatment they had received; but the Americans who

were exchanged for them, could not return the compliment, but complained of insults.

John. Was it not about this time, sir, that the continental congress chose General Washington to be commander-in-chief of the American armies?

Un. Two days before the battle of Bunker's hill, that is, on the 15th of June, 1775, congress, by a unanimous vote, made this most happy choice of a man who was as good as he was great—as wise as he was valiant. On the 16th the task was accepted, and George Washington, being at the time a representative from his native state, Virginia, rose in his place, and acquiesced in the will of his country. Pay he rejected; but said he would keep accounts of his expenses, and require the country to discharge them. It had been long foreseen that he would be called to this post of honour, difficulty, and danger. On the 4th of June, Mr. Elbridge Gerry had expressed his wish that Washington should be “Generalissimo.” Before he left home it was well known where the choice of his country would fall, and that he must accept the call. Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, both known to him as men of military experience, visited him at Mount Vernon, and even then had in view his influence to obtain for them the commissions they soon after held. Washington knew that the armies he was destined to command needed disciplinarians; he knew that Lee and Gates possessed the intelligence and experience required. He nominated Charles Lee for a major-general, and Horatio Gates for adjutant-general, of the continental armies. John Adams had his prophetick fears of both these foreign officers. He only gave his vote for them in consequence of the wish of the Southern colonies, and “the earnest desire of General Washington to have the assistance of these officers.” Mr. Sparks, in a book you must all read,

says, "it is remarkable that Washington should have been himself the chief instrument in promoting two officers, who at different stages of the war, caused him much embarrassment, trouble, and pain." He might with equal truth have said, "who throughout the whole war endeavoured to villify his qualities, thwart his measures, and destroy his credit with his countrymen."

John. This all appears new to me, sir.

Un. After I have mentioned some local affairs appertaining to our city, I will give the characters, as shown by their actions, up to this time, of these men, and some others who are prominent in American history. But New York requires our first attention. General Washington, as soon as possible after his appointment, commenced his journey to Cambridge, for the purpose of taking command of the troops there assembled. Our city was to be passed in his way; and it is somewhat curious in her history that Governor Tryon, the English commander-in-chief of the city and province, should have arrived in the harbour, and be expected to land in the capital of his government on the same day, the 25th of June, that General Washington, the commander-in-chief of the armies of the whole continent raised in opposition to Tryon's master and government, was likewise expected to land on the opposite side of the city. Tryon was looked for on the east side of the town with his suite of red-coated attendants. While Washington was known to be approaching to cross the Hudson and land on the west shore, escorted by Generals Lee and Schuyler, with a deputation of four members from the New York provincial congress, a political body that had in effect seized upon all Mr. Tryon's authority, at the same time that they professed allegiance to his sovereign. We have seen that Governor Tryon

had left the province by command of his majesty, to give an account of the troubles in the borders of his government, and he returned to find greater in the centre. The members of the provincial congress were puzzled by these expected arrivals, and to get rid of the difficulty, ordered the commander of the regiment of militia that had turned out to honour the visit of General Washington, so to dispose of his troops, as to be in condition to receive either the American commander-in-chief, or the king's deputy, as the one party or the other should have precedence in landing. Happily, General Washington arrived some hours before the governor, or else the colonel must have been bowing two ways at once; something like an attempt to serve God and mammon at the same time. General Washington staid but one day in New York. He departed on the 26th, and was escorted on his way to Cambridge, as far as Kingsbridge, by several military companies of the city, and by the Philadelphia lighthorse, who had accompanied him from the seat of congress. Tryon landed at eight o'clock in the evening of the 25th, and was received with due respect by the militia, and great cordiality by the loyalists; he was conducted to the house of the honourable Hugh Wallace, one of his majesty's counsellors. The mayor and common council presented to him a congratulatory address, and received his answer in due form. On the other hand, the provincial congress of New York addressed General Washington in terms somewhat cautious. They spoke of "the most loyal of his majesty's subjects" being "under the necessity of taking up arms." Of their confidence in the general, and "hopes of liberty from the struggle," &c. It was signed by P. V. B. Livingston, president. This is a copy of the general's answer. Read it, John.

John. "New York, 26th June, 1775. Gentlemen: At the same time that with you I deplore the unhappy necessity of such an appointment as that with which I am now honoured, I cannot but feel sentiments of the highest gratitude for this affecting instance of distinction and regard."

Wm. I do not understand, sir.

Un. The instance of distinction and regard, is his appointment to the chief command.

John. "May your every wish be realized in the success of America at this important and interesting period; and be assured that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself will be equally extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the mother country and the colonies, as to the fatal but necessary operations of war. When we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour when the establishment of American liberty, upon the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

Un. In their address the provincial congress of New York had given the general a broad hint that they considered the power intrusted to him liable to future misuse; at the same time saying, they have the "fullest assurance, that whenever this important contest shall be decided," he "will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into" his "hands, and resume the character of our worthiest citizen."

John. Washington then made a promise which he honestly performed.

Un. He did, boy. We shall see that in all his actions he was the sincere and honest patriot.

CHAPTER III.

Un. General Washington proceeded to Cambridge, and took the command of the forces blockading Boston. By great skill and perseverance he finally expelled the enemy from that part of the country. In the mean time war was approaching New York, and threatening her destruction. The provincial congress requested the aid of Connecticut, and in July, General Wooster marched a body of men from that province and encamped at Haerlem.

John. Where were the militia of our province, and General Schuyler?

Un. That gentleman had sufficient employment in the north, for in addition to the care of the expedition against Canada, he had to guard against the tories, who were numerous in several of the counties; and Sir John Johnson was arming the highlanders, and others, his tenants or dependants, as well as the Indians, who looked to him as their leader. Some of the people of the city seem to have had great dread of the guns of the Asia man-of-war, at the same time that others committed acts of hostility whenever her boats were beyond protection of her guns. On one occasion they destroyed the ship's barge; but the magistrates had another built to replace it. This, when finished, was likewise destroyed; upon which the provincial congress publish the following: "Resolved, whereas, the barge ordered to be built to replace the one belonging to his majesty's ship Asia, lately destroyed, was, when finished, sawed to pieces, in the night by some disorderly persons," the magistrates are required to procure another "to be built in this city," and all persons are enjoined to forbear from injuring it. Whether this was complied with does not appear, but soon after the above re-

solve something like open hostilities commenced between the man-of-war and the citizens. The provincial congress having directed that the cannon should be removed from the Battery, Captain Lamb with his company, and a number of the people, armed and unarmed, proceeded thither on the night of the 23d August, and while part remained under arms others were busy in accomplishing the work intended. The redoubted *Asia* lay off with her broadside presented to the town, and her barge was perceived nearer in shore, as if watching the motions of those on the Battery. It will be recollected that Tryon was permitted to remain on shore, and had been received with honours and compliments on his arrival. From his agents the captain of the man-of-war knew all that passed. A musket was discharged from the English barge, which drew a volley upon her from the shore, and killed one of her crew. The barge pushed for the ship, and on her arrival, a cannonading with eighteen and twenty-four pounders commenced; first, as stated, three guns, and then a broadside. The houses near the Battery were riddled, but little further damage done; and the citizens finished the work of removing all the guns.

John. This must have alarmed the town, sir.

Un. It did. The drums beat to arms; the men turned out, many supposing the expected forces of the enemy were landing. The women and children fled for safety, some that night and many more next day. On the 24th, the day after this cannonade, Captain Vandeput, commander of the *Asia*, sent a letter to Whitehead Hicks, esquire, the mayor of the city, and the magistrates, saying, that having information of the intention to remove the guns, he sent a boat to lie near shore and watch; that the officer having command, seeing the movements on shore, left his station to give notice according to or-

ders, and had been fired upon and one of the men "shot dead." "My duty," he proceeds, "called upon me to repel an attack of this sort, as well as to defend the guns, which occasioned me to fire upon the Battery." He says he does not wish to do hurt, but if the people "persist in behaving in such a manner," the mischief "must be at their doors." On the same day, the gallant Captain Vandeput (not considering that the mayor must call together the corporation, have his letter read to them, and take their sense on it before returning an answer,) despatched another manifesto to the city authorities, repeating the complaints of the first, requiring "due satisfaction" "for these high misdemeanors;" and threatening that if an answer to this second warning is not returned "as soon as may reasonably be expected," he "shall take such measures as may seem necessary." The mayor, that afternoon, by letter, promises him an answer next morning; but before he has time so to do, receives a third epistle from the impatient warrior, dated the 25th, requiring an answer "on the receipt of this." Mr. Hicks, in return, complains of the shot fired from the boat, and states that the firing from the shore was only in return. The captain immediately replies that the shot from his boat, was a signal gun to the ship; that it is his duty to defend every part of the king's stores; and to the mayor's assertion that he could not see how it was the captain's duty to fire upon the city, nor account for his inducement "half an hour after the return of his boat, and the removal of the cannon, for firing a broadside on the town at large," Vandeput, in reply, says, the broadside was fired because he heard huzzas, and to prevent the removal of the guns, and not to injure the city. He, however, says he shall persist in his duty, but if

"possible avoid doing hurt to any one." A very harmless kind of threat, surely.

John. But I think when a cannon ball is discharged into a town full of women and children, it is too late to bid it do no "hurt to any one."

Un. On the 29th of August, the provincial congress issue an order saying, that in consequence of the Asia's firing upon the town and wounding three "of his majesty's subjects," and doing other injuries, Mr. Abraham Lott, the contractor supplying his majesty's navy, do send said supplies to Governor's Island, to be taken from thence by the ship's crew. And no person is to interrupt such supplies; and congress will pursue every prudent and proper measure to obtain redress and prevent further injury.

John. The provincial congress seem to be very cautious, sir?

Un. The situation of the town was critical. It was filled with the friends of Tryon and England, and threatened by the guns of the Asia. It appears that there were other English ships in the harbour; for on the first of September, I find it stated, "that a boat being perceived coming from a transport in the North river, with two negroes, and two white men," the people waited her arrival and carried the whites to the congress. The negroes said they were free, and hired to carry some persons on board the ship. They were discharged with one of the whites, the other was kept prisoner; and the boat was dragged to "the commons" and burnt. Immediately after this the provincial congress order that no provisions be carried to the navy or army of the ministry; and threaten punishment, at the discretion of any committee, upon those guilty of encouraging the enemy. And a sloop from "little Esopus," having come down the river and gone to the Asia; on her departure she was followed, captured, and burnt. On the

other hand, the British landed upon and swept Gardner's Island of all the stock they could find.

Wm. More and more like war!

Un. Still, however, the king's governor remained in New York, or the neighbourhood, and the common council seemed to wish his continuance, although it was known that he was encouraging resistance to the American cause. On the 13th of October, Tryon, in consequence of some notification, or suspicion, wrote to the mayor, saying that the continental congress had recommended to the provincial congress of New York to seize him; and he places himself under the protection of the mayor and corporation. At the same time he threatens that if he is made prisoner, Captain Vandeput of the *Asia* would demand him and enforce the demand. To avoid this, he says, if it is the wish of the citizens, he will embark, and requests that any interruption to his embarkation, or the removal of his property, may be prevented. He was answered, that upon his letter being read, the "members of the corporation expressed themselves in terms of the strongest affection" to him, and are disinclined to his removal "from the capital of the province; that "the city committee desire the continuance of his residence;" and the mayor adds, "I have not the least doubt of your enjoying the most ample protection."

John. But had not the war commenced?

Un. Certainly. At Lexington and Bunker's hill. At Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen had captured the English garrison, and was at this time himself captured and in irons, as a rebel, in Montreal. All this Tryon knew, and he therefore replied, the same day, to Mr. Hicks, that as the citizens had not authorized the mayor to pledge to him "their assurances of security," his duty to his sovereign will not justify him in staying on shore unless he has positive declarations.

of full protection "under every circumstance." The mayor tells him he will consult the committee, and adds, that "people of all ranks" express great anxiety that he should not leave the city. On the 17th October, the committee authorize the mayor to assure Tryon that they "are not apprehensive of the least danger to his person or property," and add, he may be assured of all that protection from us and our fellow-citizens which will be consistent with the great principles of our safety and preservation. They declare their confidence in his wisdom; and that he will mediate to restore harmony; and express their desire that he would remain among them. Tryon's conscience told him that the Americans ought to secure him, and prevent the mischief he was plotting against them, and he got off privately to the Halifax packet, from whence he wrote again to the mayor, saying the assurances were not sufficient, and his duty had impelled him to embark and seek his safety on board a king's ship. Some time after, he writes again (from on board the Dutchess of Gordon) to David Matthews, who had been appointed by him to the mayoralty instead of Mr. Hicks, at the same time advanced to the bench, as a judge of the supreme court. To Mr. Matthews he sends a paper to be made publick, in which he says his majesty "is graciously pleased to permit him to withdraw from his province;" that he is ready to do the inhabitants any service; that it gives him great pain to see them in such a turbulent state; and he laments the calamities that must befall them," &c. Thus the governor took care to secure himself on board a king's ship of war, while exercising authority on shore by the appointment of civil officers. William Franklin, the governor of New Jersey, did not manage so well. In his address to his assembly he tells them that his majesty has directed his com-

missioners to proceed as in the case of a town in actual rebellion, against any place in which violence shall be offered to any of his majesty's officers. He says, he should have sought an asylum on board one of his majesty's ships, as other king's governors have done, but for the wish to prevent his majesty's vengeance falling upon them for any apparent hostility to him. But if they cannot answer for his safety, he begs them to tell him so in plain language. "For," says he, "as sentiments of independency are by some men of *present consequence* openly avowed, and essays are already appearing in the publick papers to reduce the people's fears of that *horrid measure*," "it is high time that every man should know what he has to expect."

John. And this man was the son of Benjamin Franklin!

Un. But no more like his father "than I to Hercules." Benjamin Franklin, even had he been a "king's governor," could not have penned such an address.

Wm. Was this Governor Franklin an ugly little fellow, Uncle?

Un. No, boy. He was a fine tall, handsome gentleman as any in his government. This unwise address is the resemblance of his mind, not his person. At the time he uttered threats he showed his fears. The consequence was, that the persons of "*present consequence*" made him prisoner, and he was shortly after ordered as such into Connecticut, where the governor was not a "king's governor."

John. There appears to have been a strange state of confusion about this time, sir.

Un. There certainly was. The continental congress in Philadelphia had appointed generals, and directed the raising of troops. Their armies were pressing upon the king's forces in Boston, and in-

vading Canada; while in other provinces the king's authority was acknowledged, and dependence on England professed. In no place was this appearance of mingled authority and "half-faced fellowship" more conspicuous than in our own good city. The Connecticut troops, under General Wooster, encamped on the island. The governor of the province dissolved the general assembly, by orders issued from ships of war in the harbour, "with the advice of his majesty's council." He likewise gave notice to the inhabitants that the ships of war are ordered to treat them as rebels, if any violence is offered to his majesty's officers, or any bodies of men raised and armed, or any fortifications erected, &c. At the same time the people were doing all these things, and yet an officer on board the *Asia* dying, his corpse is brought on shore and buried in Trinity churchyard, the Marine Society of the city attending. The provincial congress resolved that every person, not an inhabitant, shall show a certificate that he is friendly to the liberties of America, or in default thereof, be treated as an enemy. The committee announced that the city "has become a scene of confusion and distress, occasioned by an apprehension of unmerited hostilities that will shortly be commenced by the ships of war lying in this harbour," "that the poor are abandoning their habitations," flying the town and taking refuge where they can find it. They call upon the neighbouring people to receive them, and afford them relief. About this time the British being forced to abandon Boston, were expected here in force. American troops were pouring in; and on the same day Major-general Charles Lee, of the continental army, arrived in the city, and Sir Henry Clinton sailed into the harbour in an English ship of war, attended by some transports with soldiers, and other armed vessels.

John. This is confusion indeed, sir.

Un. When next we meet I will endeavour to make things plain.

CHAPTER IV.

Un. It is time that I should inform you who the generals were that congress had appointed; and by a sketch of the previous history of each, give you a necessary knowledge of the character of these individuals, so important to our future story. But in the first place I must relate a circumstance which occurred at this period in New York, relative to Governor Tryon, and elucidating the difficulties the patriots had to struggle with. It is stated that in March, 1776, some of the manœuvres of the governor convinced the provincial congress in New York that he had intelligence from a spy, of their debates and transactions; and Mr. James Duane, a member of that body, suspected that his *valet*, who had formerly been a servant with Tryon, might have taken his minutes of the congressional proceedings from his pocket at night, when he went to bed, copied them, and sent the copy to his late master, on board the English fleet. Mr. Duane informed the provincial congress of his suspicions, and proposed to put fictitious minutes in his pocket. This was done, and Tryon being misled, acted accordingly: but he soon found that he had been imposed upon by the servant, or that his spy had been outwitted, and he gave him notice accordingly. The traitor finding that he was discovered, fled, and found means to put himself under the protection of the governor, who sent him off to England.

John. You said, sir, that Governor Franklin, of

New Jersey, who called himself a "king's governor," was sent as a prisoner to Connecticut, where there was no king's governor. Will you explain this?

Un. I expected this question from you. It leads me to speak of our eastern neighbour, that you may know something of Connecticut as well as of New Jersey. That province had the happiness of self-government from its original charter. The governor and his assistants or council, were elected by the people, as well as the house of assembly. They had neither king's governor nor king's council.

John. And, I dare say, sir, that they found an American governor of their own choosing quite as good as any English governor the king could have sent them.

Un. They thought so, and have never changed their opinion on the subject. At this time they had great reason to be pleased, that instead of a king's governor, as in New Jersey and New York, who should talk to them of his gracious majesty's favour, while his soldiers were approaching with fire and sword to enslave and rob them, and then take refuge on board a king's ship and join their enemies, they had a governor of their own choice, acting with them and for them, in opposition to the armies of a foreign power. Such was governor Trumbull.

John. I wish, sir, you would tell us something of the circumstances by which Connecticut obtained and preserved this republican government.

Un. As far as is necessary to our main subject, I will. You already know that New York province extended to the west bank of Connecticut river, consequently included much of the present state of that name. The grants and patents of the early period were vague and conflicting. In 1633, the Dutch of Nieuw Nederlandts built a trading house, or fort, where Hartford now is. The English puritans

from Massachusetts took possession of this region in 1635, and began the colony of Connecticut; while others, in 1637, settled farther south, and formed a distinct government at New Haven, and so remained until 1665. The general court of the province consisted of the governor, deputy or lieutenant-governor, magistrates, and house of assembly; all elected by the people. Under wise and good officers the colony thrived; and in 1662 obtained from Charles II. a charter granting them the form of government they had chosen. As to the bounds of Connecticut, such was the ignorance of those who parcelled out provinces in America, that what was granted to Lord Say and Seal, was likewise given to Wm. Penn, and to the Duke of York, and it was only by arbitration and compromise that the present lines were fixed.

John. Did not the English King endeavour to change the free elective government of Connecticut?

Un. Yes. And the governor of New York, Fletcher, who began the contest with the assembly respecting a *permanent* grant of money for government supplies, attempted to impose himself upon Connecticut. It is said that, attended by his secretary, Col. Bayard, he went to Hartford, and the militia being paraded to honour him, he ordered Bayard to read his commission; but as soon as the secretary began to read, Captain Wadsworth ordered his drummer to strike up: the governor threatened, but the captain very fairly *told* him that he would put his sword through him, and so ended the business. The governors of Connecticut have been men distinguished for their patriotism, as well as for their morality and religion.

Wm. But, Uncle, had they not, in early times, terrible wars with the Indians?

Un. They had. There was a nation of fierce

warriours called the Pequods, with whom the settlers had to contend. And there was a great man, called by the English, King Philip, who conceived a plan for extirpating the strangers; but I must refer you to books for these transactions, and return to the province of New York in 1776; for it is time for us to examine the men to whom Congress had intrusted the military affairs of the continent. It was on the 15th day of June, 1775, that George Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, and by his recommendation, Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, known to him as experienced officers, were appointed, the first a major-general, and the second as adjutant-general. Congress, at the same time, appointed Artemas Ward, then commanding at Cambridge, Philip Schuyler, of New York, and Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, major-generals. We have seen that General Washington, attended by Schuyler and Lee, passed through New York at the time Tryon arrived from England. We will now see who and what Philip Schuyler, Charles Lee, and Horatio Gates were, and what they had been doing, up to this time.

John. We know, sir, that Mr. Schuyler had been the champion of liberty in the New York legislature.

Un. I will read you some brief notes which I have drawn up for your instruction, from various sources, but particularly from Mrs. Grant's "Memoirs of an American Lady," and Chancellor Kent's "Biographical Sketch of Philip Schuyler." The ancestor of General Schuyler had the same name, Philip, and was a large landed proprietor of the province, in its early days. He settled at "the Flats," some miles to the north of Albany, and was esteemed one of the most enlightened men of the province. His was at the time a frontier settlement.

His brother John was likewise a proprietor, and aided him in his wise measures for keeping peace with the Indians who surrounded them. Colonel Philip Schuyler formed and executed the plan of carrying several chiefs of the Five Nations to England, and introducing them to Queen Ann, by way of securing their attachment to the English colonists: in this he was successful, and returned with his five kings in the year 1709. At this time Mrs. Grant's heroine, Catalina Schuyler, the daughter of the colonel's brother, John, was nine years of age, and was adopted into Philip's family, as a companion and sister of his own daughter and sons, in consequence of the death of her father. In the year 1719, Colonel Schuyler's oldest son, Philip, was married to Mrs. Grant's heroine, (and his cousin,) Catalina. Philip inherited the estates at the Flats, and his brothers Peter and Jeremiah had seats on eminences in the neighbourhood. Philip had also a large house in Albany. In 1721 the first Philip Schuyler, or the old colonel, died. Philip the second was a member of the legislature; and in the war which occurred at this time, he raised and commanded a provincial regiment. Philip Schuyler the third, who is the subject of our research, was the son of John, and grandson of Peter, above mentioned. Born the 22d of November, 1733, he was educated by a good and wise mother until sent to a school at New Rochelle, where he experienced a long confinement at the age of 16, from an attack of hereditary gout. He here acquired a knowledge of the French language, and improved himself in various branches of learning. The exact sciences were his favourite study, and to them he owed his superiour skill in finance, military engineering, and political economy. In 1755 he commanded a company in the New York levies, and served with Sir

William Johnson in the French war. In 1758 Lord Viscount Howe selected young Schuyler as chief of the commissariat department, and the talents of the youth justified the choice. When Howe fell in the ill-judged attack of Abercrombie upon Ticonderoga, Schuyler was directed to convey the corpse of that gallant gentleman to Albany, and there cause it to be buried with appropriate honours. We shall see that Charles Lee was shot through the body at the head of his company of grenadiers, in this same murderous action, and was received and nursed in the family mansion of the Schuylers at the Flats. After the peace of 1763, Philip, now called Colonel Schuyler, served as a commissioner on the part of New York, in the controversy with Massachusetts, respecting the boundary line. In 1768 he represented the city and county of Albany in the general assembly, and continued his patriotick exertions until the assembly was dissolved by Tryon, in 1775. With the glorious minority he combated the influence of England, and with George Clinton, Nathaniel Woodhull, Col. Tenbroeck and Col. Philip Livingston, he is entitled to the eternal gratitude of New York and America. In May, 1775, Colonel Schuyler was elected by his fellow-citizens as their delegate to the continental congress in Philadelphia, and had scarcely taken his seat when he was appointed the third major-general of the American army, and charged by Washington with the command of the province of New York, on the 25th of June. Six days after, congress directed him to repair to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, secure the command of Lake Champlain, and, "if practicable and expedient, to take possession of St. John's, Montreal, and Quebec." The difficulties of an expedition into Canada, without the materials or equipments of

war, were clearly perceived by him, and strongly felt, but he surmounted them with a rapidity and success that "no other individual," says the judicious Chancellor Kent, "could at that period have performed."

John. This is high praise, sir, from such a man.

Un. I believe it is perfectly just. I will give you a few words respecting General Schuyler, from a book written by Captain Graydon, who about this time was sent by congress to convey a sum of money to the general from Philadelphia, and found him on the borders of Lake George. "Though General Schuyler has been charged with such haughtiness of demeanour, as to have induced the troops of New England to decline serving under his command, as stated in Marshall's Life of Washington, the reception we met with, was not merely courteous, but kind. His quarters being contracted, a bed was prepared for us in his own apartment, and we experienced civilities that were flattering from an officer of his high rank. Though thoroughly the man of business, he was also a gentleman, and man of the world; and well calculated to sustain the reputation of our army in the eyes of the British officers, (disposed to depreciate it,) as is evidenced by the account given by General Burgoyne of the manner in which he was entertained by him, at Albany." "He certainly was at no pains to conceal the extreme contempt he felt for a set of officers, who were both a disgrace to their stations and the cause in which they acted!" Before the end of August a large force was sent down Lake Champlain under General Montgomery, who declared his happiness in serving under the orders of so competent a commander as Schuyler. But this truly efficient man was prevented following farther than the Isle Au Noix, where he was conveyed in a state

of exhaustion from severe sickness, and obliged to fix his head-quarters. Montgomery wrote to him, "I hope you will join us with all expedition. Let me entreat you (if you can possibly) to follow in a cockle-boat, leaving somebody to forward on the troops and artillery. It will give the men great confidence in your spirit and activity. Be assured I have your honour and reputation highly at heart, as of the greatest consequence to the publick service." You shall see how the opinion of this good man will contrast with the words of some others. "All my ambition," said the chivalrick Montgomery to his commander, "is to do my duty in a subordinate capacity, without the least ungenerous intention of lessening the merit so justly your due." Schuyler was obliged to return to Ticonderoga, but never ceased his exertions for the success of the expedition.

John. Was he not a great man, sir?

Un. I think so. Read that extract from Chancellor Kent's memoir.

John. "His very impaired health rendered General Schuyler's situation oppressive. He was charged with the duty of supplying the Canadian army with recruits, provisions, clothing, arms, and money, and to do it adequately was beyond his power. He was obliged to apply to congress for leave to retire. But his application was not listened to, and on the 30th of November, congress resolved that his conduct, attention, and perseverance, merited the thanks of the united colonies. They expressed, through president Hancock, their 'greatest concern and sympathy for his loss of health, and requested that he would not insist on a measure which would deprive America of his zeal and abilities, and rob him of the honour of completing the glorious work which he had so happily and successfully begun.' Gen.

eral Washington, who always maintained a close and constant correspondence with Schuyler, expressed the same regret and desire, and in his letters of the 5th and 24th December, conjured both him and Montgomery to lay aside all such thoughts of retirement, 'alike injurious to themselves, and excessively so to the country. They had not a difficulty to contend with that he had not in an eminent degree experienced.' Who can withhold his unqualified admiration of the man, who gave such advice, at such a crisis! To his incomparable fortitude and inflexible firmness America owes her national existence.

"General Schuyler determined to continue in the service, and especially, as he said, after the fall of his 'amiable friend Montgomery, who had given him so many proofs of the goodness of his heart, and who, as he greatly fell in his country's cause, was more to be envied than lamented.' The distressed condition of the northern army in the winter and spring of 1776, was quite unparalleled in the history of the revolution. General Schuyler was roused to the utmost limit of exertion in his endeavours to relieve it, by collecting and despatching men, provisions, arms, and military and naval equipments to the northern posts, and to the army. His attention was directed to every quarter, exacting vigilance, order, economy, and prompt execution in all the complicated concerns of the department. His duty was more arduous and difficult; it was inexpressibly vexatious, and could not be sternly and effectually performed without collisions, provoking jealous and angry feelings, and requiring large sacrifices of transient popularity. With his exhausted and debilitated frame of body, every person who saw him, concluded that he must soon sink under the pressure of his duties. His incessant correspondence with

congress was full of the best practical advice. At that crisis, congress multiplied his concerns to an overwhelming degree. On the 8th of January, he was required to cause the river St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, to be well explored. He was to fill up blank commissions for the Canada regiments in his discretion. He was to establish an accountability for the waste of the publick supplies. He was to put Ticonderoga in a defensible condition. But the army in Canada engrossed his attention. After the death of Montgomery, the command devolved on Brigadier-general Wooster. The most alarming, and next to the want of provisions, the most distressing deficiency in the northern army, was in muskets, ammunition, and cannon. The call was also loud and incessant for specie, and General Schuyler went so far, as to raise, on his own personal security, 2,100*l.*, York currency, in gold and silver, for that service. Nothing shows more strikingly the want of arms than the fact that even General Washington, in his camp at Cambridge, applied to Schuyler for assistance in that particular. 'Your letters and mine,' said the former, 'seem echoes to each other, enumerating our mutual difficulties.'

"Great apprehension was entertained at this eventful moment, for the disaffected inhabitants in the Mohawk country under the influence of Sir John Johnson, and congress directed General Schuyler to cause the tories in that quarter to be disarmed, and their leaders secured. He accordingly marched into that country, in the month of January, and executed the service with such zeal, despatch, and discretion, as to receive the special approbation of congress."

Un. I must give you a more particular account

of this expedition into the Indian country, and the behaviour of Sir John Johnson.

John. This Sir John, was, I suppose, sir, the son of the Sir William who superseded the ancestor of General Schuyler, as agent for the English with the Indians.

Un. The same.

Phil. I remember Sir William's dream.

Un. The Indians of the Six Nations never forgot their friendly intercourse with the Schuylers, and the services of Colonel Peter Schuyler; but the Johnsons had now been a long time the medium through which they received their blankets, guns, knives, and rum from England, consequently their influence was paramount. But General Schuyler had persuaded the Indians in 1775 to promise neutrality in the approaching troubles. He had now reason to believe that the influence of Sir John Johnson was prevailing with them.

John. He had the advantage of living near them.

Un. General Schuyler having no troops wherewith to execute the orders of congress, and knowing that secrecy and despatch were necessary to his success, communicated his plan to a sub-committee of Albany county, administering an oath of secrecy; but advices arrived from Tryon county respecting the hostile preparations of Johnson, his Scotch tenants and adherents, as well as the Mohawks, that made secrecy unnecessary, and seven hundred of the militia were called out with the avowed purpose of disarming this internal enemy. With this force the general marched, but before he reached Caughnawaga, his army had increased to three thousand. At Schenectady a deputation from the Mohawks met him. Schuyler had sent them a message informing them of his intention to march into their country, but with no design of hostility to them.

At their meeting the usual form of making speeches took place. They acknowledged the receipt of his message, and his information that a number of men were imbodyed about Johnstown and Sir Johns, and intended to commit hostilities down the river; and that he was coming to inquire into the matter. They acknowledged that he had assured them no harm was intended to them; as they had the last summer publicly engaged to take no part against him in the dispute with the "great king over the water." They proposed to Schuyler, that instead of marching his troops to Johnstown, he should send up six men to inquire into the truth of what he had heard, and send his soldiers home. They said that the council of their nation had sent them to meet him, and warn him to take care what he is about. They remind him again of their agreement to keep peace, and that he had said "if any person was found in their neighbourhood inimical to peace, he should consider such person as an enemy;" and the Six Nations thought he meant "the son of Sir William," and they particularly desire that he should not be injured. They repeatedly warn the general "not to spill blood," and say that they intend to observe the treaty made with him, and remain at peace. They say that their chiefs had begged Sir John not to be the aggressor: that he had promised he would not. That he had but "a handful of men," and could not be the aggressor; therefore, if Schuyler and his men should come up and any evil happen, they should look upon him as the aggressor, or as "shutting up the path of peace." They denied that Sir John was making military preparations or fortifying his house, and asserted that every thing remained as in the time of Sir William. They profess a sincere desire for peace, but acknowledge that some among them are disposed to hostilities. They in-

sinuate that if this hostile array proceeds they may not be able to restrain their warriors, who are determined, if Schuyler persists in going to Johnson-Hall, that they will be present at his meeting with Sir John, and the counsellors and chiefs cannot be answerable for what may happen. The orator concludes by saying that he had persuaded the warriors "to sit still," and await his return with the answer Schuyler may give him.

John. This was all very artful, sir.

Un. And no doubt dictated by Johnson. Schuyler answered them in their own fashion. The substance was, that he had hoped a previous message sent by him to the Six Nations had convinced them no hostile intentions were entertained towards them; and is sorry the Mohawks had not sent that message. That he has full proof that many people in Johnstown and the neighbourhood have been making preparations to carry into execution "the wicked designs of the king's evil counsellors." That the force he commands is not brought for war with the Six Nations, but to prevent it, by seeing that the people of Johnstown do not interrupt the harmony of the colonies with the Indians. That he will not injure the people of Johnstown, if they agree to such terms as shall give assurance of security to their neighbours. That he will not permit any of his followers "to set foot on the Mohawk lands;" all he requires of them being that they do not interfere in the "family quarrel of the whites." He reminds them that notwithstanding their treaty of peace, some of their warriors had attacked the Americans at St. Johns, and had been killed there; which, he says, "you did not complain of, as you knew it was right to kill them in self-defence." He says, "in a little time, I and my friends may be called to fight our enemies to the eastward, and will it be prudent

to leave our wives and children exposed to enemies here at hand? We shall send a letter to Sir John inviting him to meet us on the road, and if every thing is not settled he shall return safe to his own house." He wished the Indians to be present at the interview; but added, that if he is obliged to resort to force, and they join his enemies, they must take the consequence. He begs them to repeat all this to their council.

John. He shows that he understands both the Indians and Sir John.

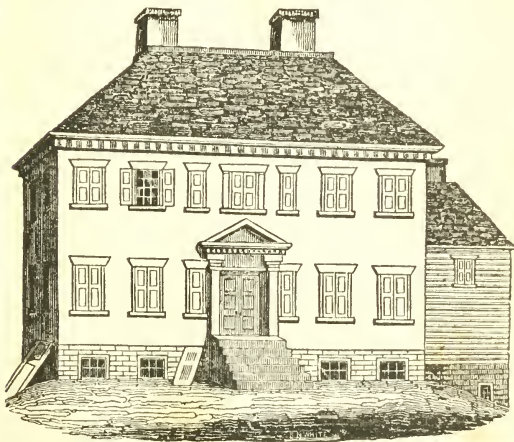
Un. The 16th of January the general despatched a letter to Johnson, saying that information having been received of designs dangerous to the liberties of his majesty's subjects in the county of Tryon, he had been ordered to march thither to contravene them, and wishing that no blood may be shed, he requests Sir John to meet him to-morrow on his way to Johnstown, pledging his honour for his safe conduct back and forth; concluding with a message tending to quiet any apprehensions in the mind of Lady Johnson. Accordingly, the next day Johnson met the general on his march, and received terms requiring the delivery of all the cannon and military stores under his control, except his personal arms and ammunition therefor. That he should remain on parole in Tryon county. That the Scotch inhabitants immediately deliver up their arms and give hostages. That all presents intended by England for the Indians be delivered to a commissary appointed to receive them. These terms, if agreed to, Schuyler pledges himself for the protection of Sir John and the inhabitants of the county.

Wm. What said the knight to this?

Un. At first he blustered a little, and said the Indians would support him, and that some were already at Johnson-Hall for the purpose. To this the an-

swer was, "force will be opposed to force, and blood must follow;" on which Sir John asked time to consider until next evening, which was granted. Another Mohawk chief waited on Schuyler, and assured him that the Indians would not interfere except as mediators. The general then marched forward and halted within four miles of Johnstown, where he received propositions from Johnson for himself and the people of Kingsborough, which were, that all arms belonging to Sir John "and the other gentlemen" should remain with them, all others to be given up. Of military stores belonging to the crown he says he has none. He expects to go where he pleases. The Scotch inhabitants will deliver up their arms, and promise not to take any without permission from the continental congress; but they cannot command hostages. This is signed, J. Johnson, Allan McDougall; and dated, Johnson-Hall, 18th January, 1776. Schuyler answers, that this proposition cannot be accepted, and he must obey his orders. He at the same time sends a passport to Lady Johnson, with a request that she would retire. Time is allowed until midnight for another answer, and gentlemen sent to receive it. Soon after, the sachems of the Mohawks wait upon Schuyler and ask more time for Sir John's answer. This is granted "for their sakes," and within the period fixed the knight agrees for himself and the inhabitants of Kingsborough to give up their arms, and that he would not go westward of German Flatts and Kinsland district; likewise, that six Scotch inhabitants may be taken as hostages. Sir John and the Scotch gentlemen pledge themselves, as far as their influence goes, for the delivery of the arms of the inhabitants, and Johnson gives assurance that he has no stores in his possession as presents to the Indians. Upon receiving the last answer, Schuyler told the Indians

that all would be settled, and they may go home. On the 19th the general marched into Johnstown and drew up his men in a line; the Highlanders were drawn up facing them, and grounded their arms. The military stores were surrendered; and this service being performed, Schuyler and his militia returned. It was found afterward that the Highlanders had not delivered up their broadswords or their ammunition. Here is a picture of Johnson-Hall, as it appeared in 1815. But for many years the provincial governors and other king's officers were frequent visitors, and no stranger of rank but was entertained at Johnson-Hall; while the sachems of the Six Nations and all the Mohawks repaired thither for the gifts from the great king over the water.



CHAPTER V.

John. Now, sir, we wish to hear something of the early history of the famous General Gates.

Un. We have seen that on the 15th of June, 1775, the continental congress made choice, by a unanimous vote, of Colonel George Washington to be commander-in-chief of the armies of America. As his major-generals they appointed Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam. Now, I think, we had better pass these gentlemen in review, in the order of their rank, only omitting Schuyler, as circumstances have brought him before us out of the order which his appointment would mark.

Wm. And then, sir, if you tell us of the adjutant-general, and the brigadiers, we shall go to war as regularly as Homer and Virgil do after reviewing their heroes.

Un. True, boy. Mr. Ward, as you know, commanded the troops assembled before Boston at the commencement of the war. He soon retired from the service, and left Charles Lee the oldest major-general. This officer was an English gentleman of some fortune, and son to a colonel in his majesty's service. Charles was commissioned at the age of eleven, so that he was almost from birth in the army. Quick in perception, and ardent in all his pursuits, he became a good scholar, and an able tactician, as far as a man devoid of prudence may be so esteemed. His first military service was under General Abercrombie, in America, and as I have incidentally mentioned, he was wounded at the defeat of that officer by the French on the banks of Lake Champlain. Great were the preparations of the English for attacking

Ticonderoga, a strong fortress near the outlet of Lake George into the greater inland sea which it was built to command; and it was garrisoned by a veteran French force of four or five thousand men. Abercrombie advanced with as fine an army of disciplined soldiers as the world could produce, and like Braddock, sacrificed them by disdaining the advice of provincials. Charles Lee was a captain in the forty-fourth regiment, and is twice mentioned by Mrs. Grant; who says the army advanced in detachments from Albany by the Flats, to the residence of the Schuylers. "One of the first of these divisions was commanded by Lee, of frantick celebrity." She adds, "Captain Lee neglected to bring the customary warrants for impressing horses and oxen, &c.; he, however, seized every thing he wanted where he could most readily find it, as if he were in a conquered country; and not content with this violence, poured forth a volley of execrations on those who presumed to question his right" of appropriation. Even Mrs. Schuyler "was not spared." Such is the testimony of a lady, herself the daughter of an English officer, and partial to the military of her own country.

John. 'This agrees with all you have told us, sir, of the insolence of these foreign officers, and their contempt for the provincials.

Un. In a few days the wounded of this proud army, after their defeat, were brought back to "the Flats," and received by the Schuylers as "men and brethren." The barn was fitted up as an hospital, and a part of the house allotted to the surgeon, among whose patients, says Mrs. Grant, "was Lee, the same insolent and rapacious Lee, who had insulted" the mistress of the mansion. He was received and treated as a child. "Even Lee," says the writer, "felt and acknowledged the resistless

force of such generous humanity. He swore, in his vehement manner, he was sure there was a place reserved for her in heaven, though no other woman should be there." Such, children, is the power of true benevolence upon the most reckless characters. But Lee, though selfish, vain, presuming, and passionate, was not without many good qualities; he was quick-witted, frank, courageous, and capable of feeling and admiring the character of the benevolent and forgiving Mrs. Schuyler.

John. I think this lady was the aunt of General Schuyler.

Un. Yes; at that time the widow of Colonel Philip Schuyler the second. Lee returned to Europe, and in 1762 served with General Burgoyne in Portugal. Ever restless, he entered the Polish service, and had attained the rank of major-general before he returned to America, for which country he appears to have had a sincere attachment, not the less probably for his adventures at Schuyler's Flats. He, however, had rambled all over Europe; had killed his man in a duel, and had been engaged in several others before he again crossed the Atlantick. He was in Philadelphia in 1774, and in July of that year, Horatio Gates, then on a plantation in Virginia, wrote to him a letter of invitation, and persuaded him to buy a farm in his neighbourhood, which, after visiting New York, Rhode Island, and Boston, he accomplished. He was now a violent anti-ministerialist, and had published several essays in defence of the colonies. Gates, in his letter, says, "a good bed is provided for you, two or three slaves to supply all your wants and whimseys; and space enough about us for you to exercise away all your spleen and gloomy moods, whensoever they distress you." The farm bought by Lee is described as containing two thousand four hundred acres,

and is valued at thirty shillings sterling an acre. Besides these, he had a claim for five thousand acres on the Ohio, to be granted by warrant from Lord Dunmore. Gates advises him to be cautious in respect to Gage, and professes his own willingness to join the cause of America.

Wm. These gentlemen were old acquaintances, it seems.

Un. Both military men, and long known as soldiers to each other. They were in exterior and in manner extremely different; Gates was courteous, accommodating, and insinuating; with a very prepossessing person. Lee, abrupt, rude, careless, capricious, and so unaccommodating as to be very disagreeable to the neat or the scrupulous, especially to ladies. He was always attended by his only favourites, two dogs; who by his desire must be at his side in the drawing-room or at the dinner-table. At the time he entered the American service, and formally renounced his English commission and half-pay, he was supposed to be an immense acquisition to the cause; and it was well known that Washington recommended both Lee and Gates to congress for the several commissions they bore. General Clinton, with a British force, arrived at New York, and Lee came on to that place in 1776, and was very active in throwing up fortifications in and around the town. Tryon and the commander of the king's ships in the harbour, "threatened perdition to the town if the cannon were removed from the batteries and wharves;" "but," says Lee, in a letter to Gates, "I ever considered threats a *brutum fulmen*, and even persuaded the town to be of the same way of thinking; we accordingly conveyed them to a place of safety in the middle of the day, and no cannonade ensued. Captain Parker publishes a pleasant reason for his passive conduct.

He says it was manifestly my intention, and that of the New England men under my command, to bring destruction on this town, so hated for its loyal principles, but he was determined not to indulge us; so remained quiet out of spite. The people here laugh at his nonsense, and begin to despise the menaces, which formerly used to throw them into convulsions. To do them justice, the whole show a wonderful alacrity; and in removing the cannon, men and boys of all ages worked with the greatest zeal and pleasure. I really believe that the generality are as well affected as any on the continent." The "convulsions," he alludes to, were the symptoms of terror shown by the defenceless inhabitants when the Asia fired upon the town in 1775.

Wm. What did Parker mean by calling New York a loyal or a tory town?

Un. It was the plan of Tryon and others to divide the colonists, therefore New York was represented as attached to England, and hated by the whigs. But the *people* were, as elsewhere, loyal to their country. New York was found too well prepared to resist the force under Sir Henry Clinton, and he sailed to the South, where Lee was despatched to meet him, and when the British appeared off Charleston, General Lee was already there in command. The defeat of the British ships of war by the gallant Moultrie belongs to the history of the United States, but we must observe that this added greatly to the already high reputation of Charles Lee. Lee and Gates visited Washington at Mount Vernon just before he went to congress, and there doubtless it was proposed and settled that they should enter the service as American officers. The fourth major-general appointed by congress was Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, a man recommended by his zeal for the cause, and by his having been a good subaltern

scouting officer in the provincial service during the French war; of his qualifications for commanding an army we must judge hereafter by events.

Wm. Now, sir, for General Gates.

Un. Horatio Gates was born in England, and was the son of Captain Robert Gates of the British army; so you see that both Lee and Gates were not only Englishmen and in the British army, but sons of his majesty's officers. Gates received his first name from his godfather, the celebrated Horatio or Horace Walpole; who mentions him as his "godson," on an occasion hereafter to be noticed. What farther connexion Gates had with the family of the Earl of Orford, I do not know; certainly he was in early life protected by high aristocratick influence, and had hopes, from that class, of promotion of no ordinary character until 1773. That he received a liberal education is evident from his letters. As early as 1749 he served as a volunteer under General Edward Cornwallis, who commanded in Nova Scotia as governor of Halifax. By him Horatio was appointed a captain-lieutenant in Warburton's regiment, and Cornwallis espoused his interest very warmly, offering by letter to his father, an advance of money for the purchase of a company for the young man. In this letter, directed to Captain Gates, Southampⁿ street, London, he farther says, that he has given his son an employment that will bring him in 200*l.* a year. Four years after this, young Gates was in England, busily engaged in purchasing promotion in the army, and on the 13th of September, 1754, is dated his commission as captain of an independent company, at New York, late Clarke's. This is signed "Holderness," by order of George the Second. In 1755, Captain Horatio Gates had returned to America, and shared with Braddock in

the disasters of Monongahela. Here may have commenced his acquaintance with Colonel George Washington of the despised provincials. Previous to leaving England the young captain had married Miss Phillips, the daughter of an English officer. In the years 1756, '7 and '8, Gates was on service in the western part of the province of New York, and in the last of these years received the appointment of brigade-major from General Stanwix, whose name was long attached to a frontier fort at the sources of the Mohawk river, where now the town of Rome is built. During these years Major Gates held the independent company stationed at New York, which he purchased of Captain Clarke.

John. Was it the custom to purchase promotion in the English army?

Un. Yes; the universal usage. Clarke writes to Gates in 1756, that Calcraft, the agent in purchasing the independent company, will "bear no more blame" respecting the settlement; and had required Clarke to apply to Gates. He tells Gates to convince the world that he "prefers equity and truth to all those mean *refuges* that artful men make to save their interest for a little while." He adds, "I want nothing of you but what honesty and truth demand; I have been injured, and you know it."

Wm. Why this looks like quarrelling over a marketable commodity between two hucksters.

Un. These highminded gentlemen in scarlet and gold were as anxious to seize upon a bargain as any dealers in other marketable commodities; and watched the expected death of a messmate for an opportunity to purchase and obtain rank, as eagerly as the lowest huckster ever sought to forestall a market.

John. Where was Mr. Gates at this time?

Un. In the western part of the province of New

York; and while there, James Abercrombie writes to him, giving some incidents of the war, and saying that the *provincials* through ignorance missed an opportunity of defeating a French force near Fort Edward. He says, they are averse to "a junction with the king's troops." "Since they are unwilling to take our assistance, I would e'en let them try it themselves, but have regulars to secure the fools in case they should be repulsed."

John. I don't wonder the provincials were averse to a junction which subjected them to the commands of such self-sufficient gentry.

Un. This will remind you of the letter I mentioned to you before, written to Gates in the year 1759, when he was at Pittsburgh, from another of his brother king's-officers.

Wm. I remember it, sir; where he says, nothing but consideration for his majesty's service, prevents his answering a letter from a member of the New York provincial legislature with his cane.

Un. Such was the universal feeling of these gentlemen in livery. When there was an exception, it was to a general rule. In 1760, General Robert Monckton was commander-in-chief of the troops at New York, and he appointed Major Gates one of his aids. The major being in Philadelphia in October of this year, Governor Boone of New Jersey wrote to him. An extract from his letter shows something of the feelings among the rulers of the time, which can only appear in these confidential communications. Read it.

John. "October 13th, 1760. Poor Delancey! have I written to you since his death? General Monckton is talked of for the government, (of New York,) and desired. Pownal is expected and dreaded. General Gage is said likewise to have applied. Speaking of the colonists, he says, their

politicks are confounded, and their society is worse, by the loss of the best companion in it. Oliver is in the council, and Jemmy Delancey, no longer a soldier, is a candidate for the city." He says, although he has been governor a good while, he had not yet met his assembly."

Un. The troops destined to attack Martinique were encamped on Staten Island, under Monckton's command; and General Amherst came on from the north to succeed Monckton as commander-in-chief. Strange as it may appear, on Staten Island, Amherst was invested with the insignia and title of a knight of the Bath, by Monckton; due authority having been received from Lord Chatham. Monckton and Gates departed for the West Indies, and Sir Jeffery remained commander of the troops in the province. Monckton took Martinique, and despatched Gates with the triumphant news to London, which of course gained him promotion; and on the 26th April, 1762, Mr. Townsend informs him that he is appointed to be major to the forty-fifth regiment of foot. It was on this occasion that Horace Walpole, by way of *badinage*, claimed credit for the capture of Martinique, as his *godson* and namesake brought the news. The connexion of Gates with Lord Orford appears mysterious. Major Gates remained several months in London, much dissatisfied with the promotion he had attained, and assiduously endeavouring, by petition and the influence of friends among the nobility, to obtain something more lucrative; but his success was not equal to the efforts made, and he returned to America as major of the forty-fifth. He had been successful in disposing of his company of independents; for in August, 1763, these companies had been disbanded, and Gates is congratulated as being "out of the scrape."

John. Why, sir, all that these officers seem to think of is making money.

Un. Certainly the major does not appear inattentive to what is vulgarly called the main-chance. He made frequent applications to the war office, and in August, 1763, gained Amherst's very reluctant leave of absence to go to London. He does not appear to have been a favourite with Sir Jeffery, who fairly tells him that his desire to leave his station appears to be only "dictated by his own interest." His hopes were with Monckton, and he was assured by one of his correspondents that the general had undertaken "his affair." The leave of absence was communicated in these ungracious words: "If you are determined to go, you have his leave to settle accordingly." And, accordingly, the major was in England before November 22d, 1763, for that is the date of a letter from William Smith, afterward king's chief-justice in Canada, the first historian of New York, directed to Gates, in London, from which you may read this abstract, and my memorandum.

John. "Smith wishes Gates such a retreat as that in which, he says, 'with the aid of Bacchus, and in the pride of philosophy, we laughed at the anxieties of the great.' He says, we in America want aid, 'not to maintain the dependency of the colonies, for you know, saucy as we are, there is nothing to fear on *that account*.' 'Sir William Johnson is continually terrifying us with the defection of the Six Nations;' 'but, thank heaven, those barbarians love themselves too well to throw off the mask of friendship. Amherst has left New York.' He praises Boone, and reprobates 'the cowardly expedient' of the English ministry in removing governors because the *people* dislike them. He says, Colden, for want of purse, and more for want of spirit to imitate Monckton, has retired to Flushing. 'The

little star does not yet appear, the twilight of his predecessor is still too strong to permit such a twinkling luminary to glitter.' In another letter to the same, he continues in the like strain. Mentioning Morris's death, on the 27th January, 1764, he says, 'Gay in the morning—dead in the evening. He came out to a rural dance,' 'he took out the parson's wife, danced down six couple, and fell dead on the floor, without a word, a groan, or a sigh.' He then goes on to mention the prominent men of the time in New Jersey, where this happened. 'Franklin has put Charles Reade in his (Morris's) place on the bench, and filled up Reade's with John Berrian, a babbling country surveyor. Franklin after Boone—after Morris, Reade!' He afterward says, 'The first error is on your side of the water,' (England.) That is, as he says, in recalling Boone because of his contest with 'a proud, licentious assembly.' 'We are a great garden—constant cultivation will keep down the weeds; remember they were planted by liberty and religion near a hundred years ago; there are strong roots that will soon despise the gardener's utmost strength. When Great Britain loses the power to regulate these dependencies, I think 'tis clear she will have no other left.' He concludes by calling for governors and judges of spirit and abilities." This is a very remarkable letter, sir. Does he call for force to keep down the growth of liberty and religion, or of the power of the people?

Un. It is a very remarkable letter from *such* a man to *such* a man. This is faithfully taken from the original; and I put it in your hands to show how these men talked and wrote to each other at that time.

John. But, sir, Major Gates is not accountable for what his correspondents write.

Un. Certainly not. But when a man's correspondents write year after year, or in general, in a certain style, I must presume that they know the sentiments of him they address. No one will write to *you* repeatedly, and in a friendly, familiar manner, calling *me* fool, knave, or villain, unless the writer knows the language accords with *your* sentiments.

Wm. Did Major Gates remain in England, sir?

Un. In November, 1764, he was appointed to a majority in the Royal Americans, as a special mark of his majesty's favour, as is announced to him from the war office; and in December he received permission to remain four months in England. Soon after, through his agent, he received proposals from a captain of dragoons, offering 3000*l.* for his majority; and not long after, in a letter written by a relative, it is mentioned that he had sold out on half-pay. He still remained in England, evidently expecting promotion through the interest of General Monckton, and his brother, Lord Galloway, and, probably, by the influence of his godfather. His friends in New York point out offices for him to apply for, particularly that of paymaster-general, as, says one, "Abraham Mortier goes to England next spring, with his fat lady; my friend, could you not contrive to get his place—he has made a fortune."

John. Who was this Mortier, sir?

Un. All I know of him is, that he caused that house to be built which once was the head-quarters of Washington, called Richmond Hill, at that time surrounded by a park, and situated on an eminence, now the corner of Varick and Charlton streets, on a level with its neighbours, surrounded by houses, and called Richmond Hill theatre. This place was then, and until a few years, far out of the city.

John. Major Gates remained a long time at home, sir.

Un. In 1766, the major's father died; and by the letters of General Monckton, it appears, that the hopes of the general are deferred, and of course those of Gates; who now looked for an appointment under his friend, and resided with his family in retirement.

Wm. It appears, sir, that both Gates and Lee were in Europe when Schuyler and Washington were serving their country at home.

Un. In 1768, Major Gates was in London, and waiting the result of Monckton's expectations; and Gates about this time sold his half-pay and commission to Monckton's younger brother; and was in expectation of accompanying the general to the East Indies; but delays occurred, and the years 1769 and '70, find the major still living in retirement, and expectations of a post under Monckton, in the East Indies.

Wm. So! If he had obtained an appointment, *we* should have had no General Gates.

Un. Monckton, disappointed in his East India schemes, receives the office of a reviewing-general, and endeavours, in the latter part of 1770, to obtain the post of town-major for Gates, and this failing, Monckton (having his hopes revived as to the East) renewed his promises to his expectant protegee; as late as July, 1771, he writes thus, in answer to Gates: "You know it has not been in the least in my power to serve myself, and therefore could not do what I wished by you." "What you have heard about the East Indies is partly true; but whether or not I shall succeed is very uncertain. I can only assure you, that should it succeed, you are the only one I have as yet thought of." And in December, "I am sorry to inform you that East India matters do not go on so well as I could wish." "You need not hurry yourself to come up till you hear from me

again." In 1772, Major Gates having given up all hopes of a place under the king's government, and his former commissions having been sold, resolved to emigrate to Virginia; where, in Berkeley county, he purchased and resided in 1773; and until, as we have seen, he and his friend Charles Lee, likewise a purchaser in the same county, visited General Washington at Mount Vernon.

John. If Major Gates had been appointed a town-major in England, or to an office in the East Indies, we should probably never have heard of him as an American officer.

Un. Or, if he had succeeded Abraham Mortier as paymaster-general of his majesty's forces in America, he might, perhaps, have been surrendered to Philip Schuyler, on the field of Saratoga. I have, for your information, sought and found the above manuscript testimony respecting Horatio Gates's life and pursuits up to 1775. We will now pursue our story, and we shall again meet him. As soon as Washington had procured the appointment of adjutant-general for Major Gates, he writes to him giving him the information; and the major replied in a very characteristick letter, the conclusion of which is in these words: "I will not intrude more upon your time, only to assure you, that I shall not lose a moment in paying you my personal attendance, with the greatest respect for your character, and the sincerest attachment to your person."

CHAPTER VI.

Un. We have seen that General Lee was sent on to prepare New York for defence, and while he was thus employed, the commander-in-chief thought of

him as a fit person to supply the loss of the brave and generous Montgomery, in Canada. About this time General Gates wrote to Lee from Cambridge. Some extracts from the letter will be of service to us. It is dated from Head-Quarters, February 26, 1776. Speaking of Fort George, at New York, he says, "I like your intention of making the fort an open redoubt; I think some heavy guns upon the south and west sides, with good sod merlons, will make the men-of-war keep aloof. It is a pretty high situation, and battering it at a distance, over the lower batteries, would have but little effect." "Clinton, I am satisfied, went to see how affairs were circumstanced at New York, to consult with Tryon, and to prepare the way for Howe's reception." "We shall march with the utmost expedition to support you." "Little Eustace is well, but nothing is done for him as yet. You know *the more than Scotch partiality of these folks*. I have had much to do to support the lad you put into Colonel Whitcomb's regiment. They have no complaint in nature against him, but that he is too good an officer." You see by this what Gates's feelings were toward the New England men, yet he had the art to conciliate their favour and use it to supplant others. Shortly after this, General Lee was ordered to Charleston, South Carolina, to oppose Clinton; so that he being employed in the south, and Schuyler at the north, Putnam, as the only remaining major-general, had command in the city of New York. He made his headquarters in a house left vacant by the owner, Captain Kennedy, of the British navy, being the first house in Broadway, since enlarged, and known as No. 1. But General Washington soon arrived, and fixed his head-quarters in the house built by Mortier, the English paymaster-general, who, as we have seen, had made his fortune and gone to Eng-

land. This house, was then standing on an eminence looking over the North river, and surrounded by a park and garden; it is now reduced to the level of its thousand neighbouring buildings, and degraded to the condition of a tap-room, to what is called the Richmond Hill theatre, at the corner of Varick and Charlton streets, with five streets between it and the river.

John. You remember this house, perhaps, far out of town.

Un. Yes. So it remained until many years after the revolution. On the 17th of June, 1776, General Gates having been appointed a major-general, congress directed the commander-in-chief to send him on to Canada. By the instructions to Gates from congress, dated the 24th, he is appointed commander of the troops in Canada, with power to appoint a deputy adjutant-general, &c. At this time a plot was discovered in New York, planned by Governor Tryon, and forwarded by David Matthews, whom he had appointed mayor. Matthews and several citizens were implicated, and put in confinement. Some of the continental soldiers had been bribed to enlist for the king's service; one of these was tried as a traitor and mutineer, condemned and shot. His name was Thomas Hickey. Matthews and the other citizens were, after a short confinement, sent on to Litchfield in Connecticut, and such indulgence as might be consistent with safe-keeping was recommended. And now the great fleet and army of Britain arrived at Sandy Hook; and the Americans had a proof that their batteries could not prevent the English ships from passing the city. The *Phoenix* frigate, and another ship of war, sailed without injury up the North river, (notwithstanding a cannonade from all the guns that could be brought to bear upon them,) and anchored in Tapan bay.

Wm. Where did the English army land, sir?

Un. On Staten Island; and there General Howe for a time fixed his head-quarters. He had been joined by Governor Tryon, and many gentlemen from New York and New Jersey, who encouraged him with the hope that great numbers would gather in arms round his standard. He appointed Mr. Delancey of New York, and Mr. Cortland Skinner of Perth Amboy, generals of brigade; and expected from their influence a great accession of tories to his English army. In the mean time, General Washington made every disposition in his power with his motley, undisciplined, and refractory troops, to meet this great and well-appointed army. General Mercer, with what was called the flying camp, was stationed at Perth Amboy, divided by a narrow channel from the enemy, whose sentinels were full in view.

Wm. Uncle, you promised to give us some account of the brigadier-generals appointed by congress, as well as of the major-generals, and you have mentioned two already as commanding bodies of troops, and have not told us any thing of their previous history.

Un. What two do you allude to?

Wm. General Wooster who marched to New York with the Connecticut forces; and now, General Mercer.

Un. Of these two gentlemen, as they have approached New York, I must give you some account. And first, General David Wooster was born in Connecticut, in 1710, and consequently was, at the time he encamped at Haerlem, in 1775, sixty-five years of age. He received a liberal education, and early in life entered into the service of the colony in a military capacity. He commanded a company at the taking of Louisburg, by the provincials, in 1745,

and was afterward complimented with a captain's commission in the regular service, under Sir William Pepperel. On the approach of war he resigned his half-pay as a British officer, and engaged actively in forwarding the expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. When congress appointed brigadier-generals, the 22d June, 1775, he was the third on the list. He was ordered from the neighbourhood of New York to join General Schuyler, and embarked for Albany, on the 28th of September. General Wooster, owing to the misfortunes attending our arms in Canada, at one time commanded the retreating troops, and after that expedition, retired to private life; but his native state appointed him their first major-general of militia, in which capacity he lost his life at the age of sixty-seven, in bravely attempting to repulse the British in their attack upon Danbury. He was one of those true patriots who preferred the service of his country to rank or etiquette. General Mercer was a native of Scotland, settled in Virginia, and abandoned the profession of a physician for the dangers of war in the cause of his adopted country. He fell gloriously at Princeton, in January, 1777, in an action which will hereafter arrest your attention. But another brigadier-general had fallen, even before the period at which we have arrived, and was the second nominated by congress—Richard Montgomery. Although he fought and bled far from New York, he was the leader of the New York forces, and was adopted as one of her most estimable children. You have seen how he lamented the absence of his commanding officer, General Schuyler, and although it would be irrelevant to enter into a detail of the war in Canada, I will read to you some extracts, communicated in manuscript, to me, from his letters to that great man, whom he always addressed, as "My Dear

General," in a most respectful and affectionate style. From his camp, near St. Johns, he writes, "I have great dependance on your presence to administer to our many wants." "Should Arnold come in my neighbourhood, has he orders to put himself under my command? You know his ambition, and I need not point out the bad consequences of a separate command." "Colonel Allen passed the St. Lawrence, below St. Johns, with twenty of ours, and fifty Canadians; he was attacked, taken prisoner, and two or three of his men killed. I lament that his imprudence and ambition urged him to this affair single-handed." You may observe the delicacy with which he speaks of this rash attempt of Allen to surprise Montreal, when he ought to have consulted and acted under the orders of his superior officer.

Wm. Poor Ethan Allen paid dearly for his forwardness this time.

Un. Yes. He was sent to England in irons. The next year he was put on board a frigate and carried to Halifax. There he remained in jail during the summer, and was then removed to New York, where he was in confinement near a year and a half. We shall meet him again when we speak of the provost-jail, and Cunningham, the provost-marshal. To return to Brigadier-general Montgomery. He, in his letters to Schuyler, complains of his troops. In one instance, he says, "I have sent back ten boats with the naked and lazy." In another letter, dated South side St. Johns, October 6th, he says, "Your diligence and foresight have saved us from the difficulties that threatened us, and we are no longer afraid of slavery." "Our army shows great want of military spirit. Our sensible officers swallow every old woman's story that is dropped in their mouths." "There has been shocking embezzle-

ment of the publick stores and moneys." "Pray send me Yorkers, they don't melt away half so fast as their eastern neighbours."

John. What does that mean, sir?

Un. I presume that the Eastern militia had just at that time *taken* the liberty to go home. He says, "We want iron, steel, ammunition, a ten-inch mortar." "*Your residence at Ticonderoga, has probably enabled us to keep our ground.* How much do the publick owe you for your attention and activity!" On the 13th of October, he describes his troops as on the brink of mutiny, owing "to insubordination and want of discipline;" but the surrender of Chamblee changed the face of affairs, and on the 20th, he says, the troops are in high spirits, "the officers of the seventh regiment taken at Chamblee are genteel men. I have had great pleasure in showing them all the attention in my power." He says, he has not in his "camp above seven hundred and fifty men." About the last of October, General Wooster arrived with the Connecticut men. On the 31st of October, Montgomery writes to his friend Schuyler, "I must earnestly request to be suffered to retire, should matters stand on such a footing this winter as to permit me to go off with honour. I have not talents nor temper for such a command. I am under the disagreeable necessity of acting eternally out of character—to wheedle, flatter, and lie. I stand in a constrained attitude. I will bear with it for a short time, but I cannot bear it long." "Mr. Wooster has behaved hitherto much to my satisfaction."

Wm. What does he mean, sir, by being under the necessity of acting out of character?

Un. He has already said that his troops were insubordinate and mutinous; that his "sensible officers swallow every old woman's story;" that there is

"shocking embezzlement of stores and moneys." In short, my children, there is no greater delusion existing than the vulgar opinion, that every revolutionary officer or soldier was a patriot or a hero. Justice can never be done to Washington, and his friends, adherents, and supporters, until it is fully understood with what jarring, selfish, and corrupt materials, they had to work out the salvation of their country. You will read, and I hope every American will read, the description General Washington gives of the troops assembled at Cambridge and Roxbury.

Wm. Yes, sir, but there were the brave Colonels Prescott and Starke.

Un. True, boy; and Whitecombe, and many others. But selfishness, thirst of lucre, jealousy, and insubordination pervaded the mass. By slow degrees, and with seeming reluctance, congress was made sensible, through the remonstrances of Washington, of the remedies necessary to their salvation. In addition to these difficulties, which that great man had to contend with, were the machinations of those who could bully and bluster, or "wheedle, flatter, and lie," without departing from character. When we return to New York island I shall have again to mention the character of the troops at the commencement of the war; and as we proceed, to dwell on the systematick endeavours of intriguers to vilify and overthrow Washington. At present let us finish what we have to say of the heroick Montgomery.

John. Who was Colonel Whitcombe, sir?

Un. He commanded a regiment before Boston, and it being necessary to remodel the army, it fell to his lot to lose his regiment. Instead of murmuring, he encouraged those who were his late private soldiers to re-enlist, by offering himself as a companion in the ranks. Thus forming a fine contrast to those

gentlemen, who, if their commissions were dated a few weeks or days amiss, retired from the service of their country, rather than sacrifice their rank, and talked loudly of wounded honour, as Arnold did afterward, when others were appointed to rank over him.

Wm. But, sir, what became of the good Colonel Whitcombe?

Un. Another good officer, Colonel Brewer, who had been appointed to command Whitcombe's regiment, declined in favour of his predecessor, and Whitcombe was restored, while the noble Brewer served under him. These were the true heroes. But, boys, I must go on with my story relative to Montgomery, which will soon be brought to an end, as I do not intend to relate the particulars of the war in Canada. St. Johns surrendered the 3d November, and the 13th, Montreal capitulated. The noble-minded Montgomery says, in a letter to Schuyler, "if your health will not permit you to engage in this affair, Lee ought, by all means, to have command here." He says, "The troops are exceedingly turbulent, and indeed mutinous. My vexation and distress can only be alleviated by reflecting on the great publick advantages which must arise from my unparalleled good fortune." He laments that more gentlemen of education would not engage in the service, and says, that the officers of the "first regiment of Yorkers." were on the point of a mutiny, because he would not stop the clothing of the garrison of St. Johns. "I would not have sullied my own reputation, and disgraced the continental army, by such a breach of capitulation, for the universe." He speaks in high terms of our old friend, Captain John Lamb, but he says, the "rascally Green Mountain boys have left me in the lurch after promising to go down to Quebec." The complaints this gal-

lant gentleman makes of his commissaries and officers are painful and mortifying. In one instance he felt himself so much insulted by a remonstrance which a number of his officers presumed to make against the indulgence he had given "some of the officers of the king's troops," that he immediately resigned his command, and only resumed it upon their submission and apology. To the last, he found dissensions, and a spirit of insubordination among the troops. You know that he attacked Quebec, and was killed. You know, John and William, that this gallant officer was born in the north of Ireland. He served in the English army for some years, but preferring this country, he, in 1772, purchased an estate on the North river, and married a daughter of Judge Livingston, the sister of Chancellor Livingston, and of the late distinguished Edward Livingston.

Phil. I have read on his monument in front of St. Paul's church, that he fell in the attack on Quebec, the 31st of December, 1775.

Un. Three other brigadier-generals of the continental army were on service in and near the city of New York, in the summer of 1776. I will give you a short notice of each; and first, Nathaniel Greene.

John. He was the true friend of Washington and his country.

Un. General Greene was born in Rhode Island, and commanded the militia of his native state at Cambridge. Congress appointed him a brigadier-general in June, 1775, and he soon displayed those talents which acquired the confidence of the commander-in-chief. He received the commission of major-general on the 9th of August, 1776; and was intrusted by General Washington with the command on Long Island, but, unhappily for many a brave man, was rendered incapable before the battle of

Brooklyn, by a severe attack of fever. The next I shall mention is Brigadier John Sullivan of New Hampshire, who was appointed in June, 1775, and served in the unfortunate war of the north, but arrived in time to experience the disasters of Brooklyn. He did good service after his exchange. The last brigadier-general I shall now mention is Lord Stirling, who was appointed by congress, in February or March, 1776.

Wm. What! an American lord, Uncle?

Un. Certainly not, boy. This gentleman claimed to inherit the dignity of an earl from the circumstance that his father's cousin, who was Earl of Stirling, died without male issue. General Lord Stirling was in early life known as Mr. William Alexander, and served as an officer in the old French wars. In 1775, he was appointed to the command of the first continental regiment that was raised in New Jersey, and had the distinction of receiving one of the first votes of thanks granted by congress. It was for the successful results of a daring enterprise projected by him, and accomplished by his embarking with a detachment of his regiment from Elizabethtown, and proceeding in three small unarmed vessels to the outside of Sandy Hook, (while the Asia man-of-war, with her tender, lay in the bay of New York,) and capturing a transport ship of three hundred tons, armed with six guns, and freighted with stores for the British army. We shall soon see what share he had in the subsequent events of the war. He was ever the firm friend of Washington. Now let us take our usual walk.



CHAPTER VIII.

Un. In our last walk out of town you were all struck with surprise at hearing the language of some boys who were playing and quarrelling almost at the same time, and in either case, uttering words shocking to any well educated person. These poor boys have received no education to counteract the effect of the evil examples they have been surrounded with. For such, there is little hope but in the House of Refuge.

Phil. Or the Sunday school.

Un. It is evident that their parents had not made them attend *that*, or any other school, to any good purpose. Do you remember the idle, blackguard boy, that we saw sitting on the fence, not far from the House of Refuge, in one of our walks?

Wm. Yes, sir. And you remarked that, although

little differing in dress from the picture of the "Studious Boy," you presented to us, yet he was a perfect contrast to it.

Un. I have procured a little picture of the idler, and now let us compare the two boys. The idle boy is the representative of vacuity and indecision; the other of thought and determined improvement. We will suppose the idler falls in, as is most likely, with such boys as we saw in our last walk; he would then become industrious in evil. He would try to out-do them in expressions of indecency. He would smoke his cigar, and if he could obtain money by attending at the doors of the theatres to beg checks and sell them, he would soon add drinking to smoking. His wants would increase, and to obtain wherewith to satisfy them he would steal, and if not rescued by the House of Refuge, or some other benign agent of Providence, he must go on to be the pest of society, or a sacrifice to its laws. Now look at the studious boy. We may believe that he is poor, and has no father; but he has a good mother, and has been taught his duty to God and his neighbour. He sees the beauty of knowledge, and thirsts for its precious stream. When at play he would be foremost in skill and activity, but his companions would never be the corrupt or profane. When at school, he would be at the head of his class, and teacher of all less quick of perception than himself. Now, shall I tell you his future history?

Phil. O, you can't, Uncle!

Un. Let me try. His widowed mother cannot keep him at school as long as she wishes, and accepts the offer of a good gentleman, a lawyer, in Albany, to be an attendant in his office. There, Tim—

Phil. Is his name Tim?

Un. We will call him Timothy Trusty. Tim,

being active and intelligent, executes his master's orders with despatch and punctuality, while he finds time to read without neglecting his duty. There are many words he does not understand; and finding an old Latin grammar of his master's, he studies it. His master observing this, and admiring the boy's general conduct, sends him to a classical school; then in process of time receives him as a regular law student. Timothy becomes a lawyer, and enters into practice with his master.

Phil. What becomes of his mother?

Un. That's the question of a good boy. He takes a house for her in town, and lives with her, as much her consolation, as a man, as he was her comfort when the barefooted studious boy.

John. I don't see, sir, but Timothy Trusty may become president of the United States.

Phil. That would be capital!

Un. As he did not sit on the fence when a boy, he would probably take a decided stand on the right side when a man. He would be chosen as a member of the state legislature—industrious, honest, intelligent, eloquent, and learned, he must go to congress—he must be chosen as one of the senate—honours and offices seek him; and his good mother sees him president. So much for pictures; now let us go to realities. We have seen that owing to the failure of the attack on Quebec, and other disasters combined, with powerful reinforcements brought to the English by General Burgoyne, our army, dispirited, dying with the small-pox, and in a state of helpless disorganization, was driven with disgrace out of Canada. It was this army that General Gates was sent to command. Congress ordered General Schuyler to raise two thousand Indians to serve in Canada. "Where am I to find them?" was the reply. Adding, that, under present circum-

stances, if the savages could be prevented from joining the enemy, it was as much as could be expected. This he exerted himself to do, and had a council with them at German Flats, at which he made a treaty. But Sir John Johnson, notwithstanding that he had given his parole, counteracted the intentions of Schuyler by instigating the Indians and Highlanders to hostilities against the frontiers. A force was sent to prevent this mischief, and Johnson fled to the Indians and English. He never more returned to Johnstown, but was active with Burgoyne.

Wm. A good riddance!

Un. General Washington recommended sending on Shee's and Magaw's regiments from Philadelphia, to oppose the threatened attack upon New York; and I will now show you some extracts from a work written by Captain Graydon of Pennsylvania, which gives a more circumstantial account of several transactions on our island, than I have found elsewhere, and a more graphick description of the troops collected for the defence of the city. The Pennsylvania regiments were under the command of General Mifflin, and were at first employed in fortifying the northern end of the island, and building Fort Washington, which, as it stood on the east bank of the Hudson, was supposed adequate, with Fort Lee, opposite, to prevent the passage of the enemy's ships.

Wm. You have not told us any thing of General Mifflin, sir.

Un. He was a gentleman of Pennsylvania, and afterward its governor. Well educated, and having travelled in Europe, (an advantage more rare then than now,) he had some qualifications for his station. He had served likewise before Boston, so might talk of war to the uninitiated. Graydon says of him, "His manners were better adapted to attract popu-

larity than to preserve it. Highly animated in his appearance, and possessing in an eminent degree the talent of haranguing a multitude, his services in giving motion to the militia, were several times, in the course of the war, felt and acknowledged." His talents were rather brilliant than solid. Mr. Mifflin was deficient in that better judgment which could truly estimate great events or great men, and destroyed his usefulness by overweening self-estimation, which led, as with too many others we must mention, to dissatisfaction with the great commander-in-chief, and secret league with his enemies. Captain Graydon says of him, "He was full of activity and apparent fire, but it rather resembled the transient blaze of light combustibles than the constant, steady flame of substantial fuel." Graydon describes men and events with the accuracy of an observing eyewitness. Read this extract :

John. "Among the military phenomena of this campaign, the Connecticut lighthorse ought not to be forgotten. These consisted of a considerable number of old-fashioned men, probably farmers and heads of families, as they were generally middle-aged, and many of them apparently beyond the meridian of life. They were truly irregulars; and whether their clothing, their equipments, or caparisons were regarded, it would have been difficult to have discovered any circumstance of uniformity; though in the features derived from 'local habitation,' they were one and the same. Instead of carbines and sabres, they generally carried fowling-pieces; some of them very long, and such as in Pennsylvania are used for shooting ducks. Here and there, one, 'his youthful garments well saved,' appeared in a dingy regimental of scarlet, with a triangular, tarnished, laced hat. In short, so little were they like modern soldiers, in air or costume, that, dropping the necessa-

ry number of years, they might have been supposed the identical men who had in part composed Pepperil's army at the taking of Louisburg. Their order of march corresponded with their other irregularities. It 'spindled into longitude immense,' presenting so extended and ill-compacted a flank, as though they had disdained the adventitious prowess derived from concentration. These singular dragoons were volunteers who came to make a tender of their services to the commander-in-chief. But they staid not long at New York. As such a body of cavalry had not been counted upon, there was in all probability a want of forage for their *jades*, which, in the spirit of ancient knighthood, they absolutely refused to descend from; and as the general had no use for cavaliers in his insular operations, they were forthwith dismissed with suitable acknowledgments for their truly chivalrous ardour. An unlucky trooper of this school, had by some means or other found his way to Long Island, and was taken by the enemy in the battle of the 27th August. The British officers made themselves very merry at his expense, and obliged him to amble about for their entertainment. On being asked, what had been his duty in the rebel army, he answered that it was *to flank a little, and carry tidings*. Such, at least, was the story at New York, among the prisoners."

Wm. Is it possible that this is true, sir?

Un. I witnessed too many displays of such ill-constituted military corps to doubt it. General Washington in a letter of 10th July, 1776, to the president of congress, says, that the battalions of the Connecticut militia will be very incomplete, and that *that* government had ordered three regiments of their lighthorse to his assistance, but not having the means to support cavalry, he informed the gentlemen that he could not consent to keep their horses, but wished "them-

selves" to remain. It appears that while the generality of the troops were employed with the spade and pickaxe, and the fine regiments from Pennsylvania were daily at work fortifying the banks of Haerlem and Hudson rivers, these highminded "Connecticut lighthorse," as the commander-in-chief says, "notwithstanding their promise" to continue for the defence of New York, were discharged, "having peremptorily refused all kind of fatigue duty, or even to mount guard, claiming an exemption as troopers." I mention these things, boys, that you may know the kind of material Washington had to oppose to the numerous and well-appointed army that was preparing to attack him. These gallant troopers performed one exploit in the city. They paraded at the corner of Wall and Queen streets, where Rivington's printing office and dwelling-house stood, and entering the house, demolished the presses, and threw the types out of the windows, to be *distributed* by the mob who gathered in the streets.

John. What became of Mr. Rivington?

Un. He secreted himself and found means to join his friends. After visiting England, he returned and published the "Royal Gazette," at New York, as "king's printer." I must give you another extract from Captain Graydon, to read, respecting the troops on York island. This is it.

John. "The materials of which the eastern battalions were composed, were apparently the same as those of which I had seen so unpromising a specimen at Lake George. I speak particularly of the officers, who were in no single respect distinguishable from their men, other than in the coloured cockades, which, for this very purpose, had been prescribed in general orders; a different colour being assigned to the officers of each grade. So far from aiming at a deportment which might raise them

above their privates, and thence prompt them to due respect and obedience to their commands, the object was, by humility, to preserve the existing blessing of equality: an illustrious instance of which was given by Colonel Putnam, the chief-engineer of the army, and no less a personage than the nephew of the major-general of that name. 'What,' says a person meeting him one day with a piece of meat in his hand, 'carrying home your rations yourself, colonel!' 'Yes,' says he, 'and I do it to set the officers a good example.' But if any aristocratick tendencies had been really discovered by the colonel among his countrymen, requiring this wholesome example, they must have been of recent origin, and the effect of southern contamination, since I have been credibly informed, that it was no unusual thing in the army before Boston, for a colonel to make drummers and fifers of his sons, thereby, not only being enabled to form a very snug, economical mess, but to aid also considerably the revenue of the family chest. In short, it appeared that the sordid spirit of gain was the vital principle of the greater part of the army. The only exception I recollect to have seen, to these miserably constituted bands from New England, was the regiment of Glover from Marblehead. There was an appearance of discipline in this corps; the officers seemed to have mixed with the world, and to understand what belonged to their stations. Though deficient, perhaps, in polish, it possessed an apparent aptitude for the purpose of its institution, and gave a confidence that myriads of its meek and lowly brethren were incompetent to inspire. But even in this regiment there were a number of negroes, which, to persons unaccustomed to such associations, had a disagreeable, degrading effect."

"Taking the army in the aggregate, with its

equipments along with it, he must have been a novice or a sanguine calculator, who could suppose it capable of sustaining the lofty tone and verbal energy of congress. In point of numbers merely, it was deficient; though a fact then little known or suspected. Newspapers and common report, indeed, made it immensely numerous; and it was represented that General Washington had so many men, that he wanted no more, and had actually sent many home, as superfluous. It is true, there were men enough coming and going; yet his letters of that day, demonstrate how truly weak he was in steady, permanent soldiers."

Un. We will now take our exercise, and to-morrow I must tell you of the battle of Brooklyn.

CHAPTER IX.

Un. I mean to give you to-day, as clear a notion as I can of the unfortunate battle of Brooklyn, but will first say a few words of the meeting between Generals Schuyler and Gates. The latter, as we have seen, had been appointed a major-general, and assigned to the command of the troops in Canada. These troops had been forwarded by Schuyler with the intent of commanding them himself in that expedition, but sickness preventing, they had been intrusted to the gallant Montgomery, whose letters we have just read. They were now (under the command of General Sullivan) ordered by the commander of the department, *Schuyler*, to Crown Point; where, in the condition of a sick, dispirited, and defecated army, Gates found them; he not only superseded Sullivan in the command of this force,

but affected to consider himself independent of, if not superiour to, Schuyler; and the adherents of Gates have to this time, in printed documents, stated that he had been appointed by congress the commander of the northern department, notwithstanding the most positive testimony to the contrary. Gates had assumed the style and mode befitting the chief officer of a great department. In one of his letters to Washington, he says, "I must take the liberty to animadvert a little upon the unprecedented behaviour of the members of your council to their compeers of this department."

John. What could induce him to be so bold?

Un. He had, during the blockade of Boston by the eastern troops, used those arts which Montgomery said were so adverse to *his* character. Gates could "wheedle and flatter." His manners were specious, as were his talents, and he was indefatigable, by writing and otherwise, in his efforts to attach to himself the eastern members of congress, and other men of influence. He was the boon companion of the gentleman, and the "hail-fellow, well-met," of the vulgar. He saw from the first that Schuyler was unpopular in New England. He was, like his friends Montgomery and Washington, unfitted for wheedling, flattering, and lying; and besides had, in the preceding disputes between the province of New York and New England, maintained the rights of the people who had sent him to the legislature. Gates knew at this time that several members of congress wished him to supersede Schuyler. Elbridge Gerry had, by letter, declared that he wished him to be generalissimo at the north. Messrs. Lovel, Samuel Adams, and others, were his adherents. He kept up a correspondence of a friendly nature with John Adams, but there is no evidence of that great man having appreciated him

to the disadvantage of Schuyler. He had sounded Adams as to the character of Robert Morris, and received a high eulogium in answer. Shortly after, Robert Morris wrote to Gates, and speaking of the disasters in the north, he says, "I find some people attributing this to a source I should never have suspected: is it possible that a man who writes so well and expresses such anxiety for the cause of his country as General S———r does—I say, is it possible that he can be sacrificing the interest of that country to his ambition or avarice? I sincerely hope it is not so, but such intimations are dropped."

John. Do you suppose these insinuations have *one* source alone?

Un. I believe that they were encouraged by *one* who took advantage of the prejudices of many. I will mention another instance of the art by which General Gates gained, and attempted to gain, men of influence as agents in his plans of ambition. Connecticut was then a most efficient member of the Union, and Governor Trumbull, as steady a patriot as any on the continent, was the friend of Washington and of his country, but placing great reliance on Gates. He had three sons at this time in the service; if more, I know not. One of these young men was appointed a paymaster-general, another a commissary-general, and the youngest was appointed by Gates, soon after he received his commission of major-general, (which was the 24th of June, 1776,) and was empowered to make such an appointment *for the army in Canada*, his deputy adjutant-general; and this young gentleman he took on with him and retained, although there was no longer an army in Canada. Mr. Joseph Trumbull, the commissary-general, was appointed by the same authority to furnish supplies for the northern department, of which, as you have seen, Schuyler was the com-

mander; and notwithstanding that *that* general had a commissary-general, Mr. Livingston, of his own choice, Gates had influence enough to force Mr. Joseph Trumbull upon him. All this secured to him the attachment of a powerful family, and of the state of Connecticut, where the good old governor was justly esteemed for talents and patriotism.

John. Did not General Schuyler oppose these usurpations upon his authority?

Un. Yes; or he would not have done his duty to his country. He issued his orders for the relief and safety of the army in Canada, now driven back to his immediate department and command. Gates, on his arrival, refused to submit to the authority of Schuyler, who met this unauthorized disobedience in the most courteous manner, and although the commission of Gates was in such plain terms that none but the wilfully blind could fail to understand it, Schuyler offered to refer the matter in dispute to congress. I have had an opportunity of transcribing part of a letter written by Commissary-general Trumbull, to his patron, which throws light on the subject, and on the characters of the parties concerned. Read it. It was written from New York.

John. "July 5th, 1776." The extract is introduced by some words of your own.

Un. Let my words go for their worth. Read on.

John. "He mentions letters received on the subject of *his* department, and says, 'by which I find you are in a cursed situation, your authority at an end, and commanded by a person who will be willing to have you knocked in the head, as General Montgomery was, if he can have the money-chest in his power. I expect soon to see you and your suite, back here again.' He adds, that he has shown these letters from his deputy-commissaries to General Washington, and told him that he would order

his agents back again; as a deputy who could have no money from anybody but General Schuyler, could be of no use in that part of the world; further, he says, he told the general he would 'not be answerable for the consequences where his authority and the chief command were both disputed.' "

Un. You see by this, my dear children, somewhat of the difficulties Schuyler and Washington had to contend against; and as you will remember the extracts from the letters of Montgomery, you can judge how differently that gallant officer and good man thought of Schuyler, who is here charged with avarice and peculation, if not directly, certainly by implication. Yet we know that this high-souled gentleman advanced his own money for the publick service when the envied chest was empty; and saw his houses, mills, and plantations at Saratoga, committed to the flames by the enemy, without regretting any sacrifice for his country's service. One would suppose, that mean suspicion could not add to this, yet I find the charge against Philip Schuyler of intercepting the letters forwarded by congress to the friends of Gates! It was thus that Schuyler and Washington had to contend against internal as well as external enemies. As early as January, 1776, this persecuted patriot wrote to his friend and commander, "I could point out particular persons of rank in the army, who have frequently declared, that the officer commanding in this quarter, ought to be of the colony from whence the majority of the troops came." He says, he has come to the conclusion "that troops from the colony of Connecticut will not bear with a general from another colony." He laments the "unbecoming jealousy" in a people of "so much publick virtue." Writing to the same, in May, 1776, he alludes to the clamour raised against him, which had been attributed to art-

ful practices of the tories, and says, "I trust it will appear that it was more a scheme calculated to ruin me, than to disunite and create jealousies in the friends of America. Your excellency will please to order a court of inquiry the soonest possible." He had before said that he had reason to apprehend that the tories were not the only ones who propagated evil reports respecting him. He afterward knew full well who were leagued against him.

Wm. Is it not strange, sir, that the Connecticut people should object to serve under generals from another colony, and yet be willing to follow a foreign officer?

Un. It would appear almost unnatural but for circumstances, some of which I have already touched upon. They were particularly adverse to the people of New York, from the time of old disputes respecting boundaries; they had originally intruded upon and dispossessed the Dutch, and continued to entertain hostile sentiments, clothed in expressions of contempt, against the original settlers of the province; and such have unhappily been repeated to this day. Schuyler had ever been a champion for the rights of New York; and much of what he terms a general aversion to men of other provinces, was personal enmity to him. This was fostered and increased by the arts of a foreign officer, to whom these Americans looked up as almost the only leader whose knowledge could save them. You must recollect that this was early in the struggle. People had no confidence in their own military skill, and saw in Charles Lee and Horatio Gates, men possessing that knowledge which raised them above any provincial. We must recollect that Americans had heard for years of their own inferiority, and of the immense advantages possessed by the British officers. Therefore, it was not unnatural that men

who felt their own deficiency in military tacticks (and had almost been made to believe that they were an inferiour race, compared to Europeans) should look up to those who had seen some service, and could talk of battles in words of gunpowder. That this servile submission should have continued so long, does appear to me almost unnatural, for we shall see that many of the Americans were ranged under an intriguing foreigner for the overthrow, at a later period, of Washington himself. But let us proceed with the affairs of 1776.

John. How, sir, did congress decide the disputed command?

Un. In a manner that, one would think, should have covered Horatio Gates with shame. John Hancock wrote to him, that Congress having considered Schuyler's letter to Washington, laid before them by the mutual agreement of the parties disputing, have resolved, that "your command was totally independent of General Schuyler's, while the army was in Canada, but no longer." He says, "the terms in which the resolve relative to your appointment are conceived, seem to show that this was their intention. You were expressly by that resolve to take the command of the troops *in Canada*, words which strongly imply that they had no design to divest General Schuyler of the command while the troops were *on this side Canada*."

John. Did this end the dispute?

Un. Schuyler's letters to Gates appear frank and friendly. Gates remained as second in command on Lake Champlain, and efforts were made to repel the triumphant enemy. On the 10th of July, General Schuyler wrote to Gates that congress had decided that Mr. Trumbull, and not Mr. Livingston, should supply the northern army. He says, that he had assured congress, that the difference which

had existed between him and General Gates had not caused any ill-will. Thus the good, measure others by themselves. Of the feelings of Schuyler's enemies, we must judge by the fact that a letter from Gates to him a few days afterward, made it necessary for him to repel a base charge or insinuation by words like these. Read.

John. "If you or any of the army conceive that any letters are stopped at Albany or elsewhere, by my order, you are mistaken." He then speaks of the post-master's duty, and concludes, "If he should therefore stop any letters going to or from the army, he would be culpable, and merit punishment. I am your most obedient, humble servant."

Un. A letter in this indignant style produced a reply from his rival, the amount of which is made known to us by General Schuyler, who writes to Gates on the 2d of August, "Your favour of the 29th was delivered to me within this half hour"—"I experience the finest feelings from your friendly declaration. You will never, my dear sir, out-do me in acts of friendship." In the mean time the expectations of General Gates were more than kept alive by his eastern and other friends; Elbridge Gerry wrote to him from Hartford, "We want very much to see you with the sole command in the northern department, but hope that you will not relinquish your exertions until a favourable opportunity shall effect it." He had previously offered to give him information of the measures of congress, "their causes and moving principles." *Samuel Chase* writes from congress, "I wish you would inform me of your suspicions, and disclose the secret springs which you suppose have influenced men and measures in your department." Schuyler, meantime, was sensible of the prejudices against him, and of the jealousies kept alive by machination. Sincerely

willing to retire, he kept his post and encountered all the difficulties of this unfortunate northern campaign.

Wm. I hope, Uncle, you will have to tell us of more cheering occurrences near New York and on Long Island—though I fear not.

Un. It was worse here: even worse than the general history of the time would lead us to expect. But we must search for the truth.

John. I think, sir, nothing could be worse than the conduct of General Schuyler's enemies.

Un. No, boy. The evil that befel us here, at New York, had not that malignant moral poison mingled so grossly in it, as *that* we have exposed and must further develop. Our city had been fortified, first by Lee, and then by Washington, and every approach either by Long Island or by crossing the East river, and attacking from the north and east, had been guarded. Still, it was considered that the place was not tenable against an enemy with a force so greatly superiour, and commanding all the adjacent waters. But congress ordered the place to be defended, and their general was bound to obey. On the 4th of July, 1776, General Howe wrote to his government that he was waiting for Lord Howe and the fleet, but had no hopes of peace until the rebel army is defeated; and *that day* congress severed the ties which united America to Great Britain, politically, and the colonies were thenceforth free and independent states. When the Declaration of Independence (which you all know by heart) was received at New York, it was read to the troops, drawn up by brigades, and received with enthusiasm.

Wm. That was the day, Uncle!

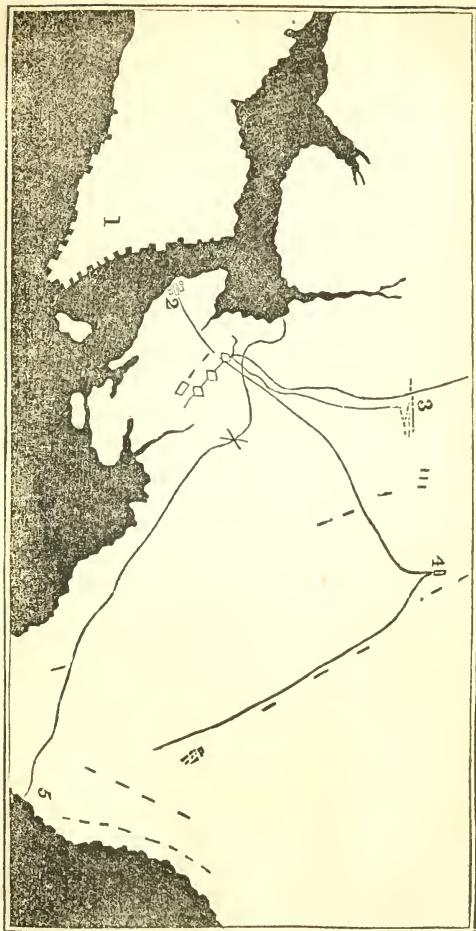
Un. But see what difficulties encompassed the country generally, and particularly the army col-

lected on this island. The English ships of war passed up both rivers with impunity. Some were stationed in Flushing bay. The main army landed at Gravesend, on the 22d of August, and indicated an attack by Brooklyn. The American lines extended from the Wallabout across to Gowanus creek. Between the enemy, (who extended his lines from the Narrows over the flat country to the old Jamaica road,) were a succession of wooded hills, which Washington had ordered Major-general Putnam (who had command on the island at this critical juncture, owing to the severe illness of Greene) to defend with his best troops. Washington remained in the city until he could determine whether the enemy intended to attack that post simultaneously with Brooklyn, and ready to throw over reinforcements as they might be wanted more on the island and less in the city. Putnam had two brigadiers under him; Sullivan (who was appointed to command the troops not within the lines) and General Lord Stirling. A few words from a letter of Washington to Putnam gives us somewhat of the character of both men. Read this extract, and my remarks. It is dated 25th August, 1776.

John. “ ‘To Major-general Putman : Sir, it was with no small degree of concern that I perceived yesterday a scattering, unmeaning, and wasteful fire, from our people at the enemy. No one good consequence can attend such irregularities, but several bad ones will inevitably follow.’ He says, fear prevents deserters approaching, and mentions other evils, which ‘must forever continue to operate,’ ‘whilst every soldier considers himself at liberty to fire when, and at what, he pleases.’ He instructs him in the mode of placing his guards, and appointing the duty of his brigadiers and field officers. He complains of the men burning and plundering houses.

He directs that the wood next to Red Hook should be well attended to."

Un. This little plan will show you the situation of the places and armies:—No. 1 is New York. 2, Brooklyn, and Putnam's camp and lines. 4, Flatbush. 5, Denyse's ferry, or the Narrows, and the road from it to Brooklyn is *that* nearest the bay. The line from 5 to 4, and posts beyond the bounds of the map, were occupied by the British. 3 is New Bedford. About three o'clock of the morning of the 27th, Lord Stirling says he was called up and informed by Putnam that the enemy were advancing by the road from Flatbush. His lordship was ordered to take the "two regiments nearest at hand" to meet them. He says, he "was on the road to the Narrows just as the daylight began to appear." He found a third regiment retreating before the British, and took command of them also, with a body of riflemen and some artillery. Shortly after day-break an action commenced, and was continued until nearly eleven o'clock; that is, until General Howe with the main body of the English army had placed himself in the rear of General Stirling, which was the object doubtless he had in view by skirmishing with the Americans, occasionally retiring, and keeping up a distant cannonade. His lordship says, "I saw that the only chance of escaping being all made prisoners, was to pass the creek near the Yellow Mills," Gowanus creek. He found, however, that Lord Cornwallis was likewise between him and the American lines. This detachment he gallantly attacked, with a part of his force, to give an opportunity for the others to escape by fording the creek; which many did. The contest was seen to be in vain, and Lord Stirling, after some attempts to escape, surrendered himself "to General De Heister, the commander of the Hessians."



A great part of his lordship's troops behaved in the most gallant manner. They were unconscious that they were entrapped by superiour military skill, and that there was no head to look forth from the American lines to warn them of approaching danger, or direct an effort to save them. General Sullivan says, "I was to have commanded under General Putnam within the lines." But being uneasy about a road through which he foretold that the enemy would come, he went to the hill near Flatbush, "and, with a picket of four hundred men, was surrounded by the enemy, who had advanced by the very road," he says, "I had foretold." Thus, by concerted movements of the enemy, and no concert whatever on our part, many brave men were killed, and many more were surrendered to the tender mercies of Captain Cunningham, the provost-marshal, and his deputies. Our loss, this unfortunate day, was more than eleven hundred; and the enemy took a position between the wooded hills and the American lines. Our troops were dispirited; and the militia left New York by whole and half regiments. General Washington thought of withdrawing from the city, and more than hinted his wish to destroy it. However, the safety of the troops at Brooklyn was first to be attended to, and reinforcements drawn from Fort Washington were thrown over. But, as an actor and eye-witness is before us, let us make use of Captain Graydon's unpretending narrative for some of the transactions of this time. Read to us, William.

Wm. First, sir, let me ask, was not General Woodhull of the militia made prisoner, likewise, at this time?

Un. He was, boy. Nathaniel Woodhull, the compatriot of Philip Schuyler and George Clinton, was surrounded as he was endeavouring to retreat. He

immediately surrendered, without resistance; and notwithstanding was inhumanly wounded by the ruffians who took him, insomuch that he died of the injuries. Read on.

Wm. As you have marked it, sir?

Un. Yes.

Wm. "The forces of the enemy, which had been landed on Long Island, had extended themselves as far as Flatbush and New Lots, between which places and our works at Brooklyn, runs a ridge of pretty lofty hills. Here it was, that, being met by our troops under the command of Generals Sullivan and Stirling, the action of the 27th of August commenced; of which, as I was not present, I know nothing more than is given in the historical accounts of this affair. The manifest superiority of the enemy on this occasion, owing more to mismanagement perhaps on our side, than want of bravery in the troops engaged, rendered it expedient to draw our forces to the point that had been chosen for the contest; and an express was accordingly sent off, requiring the immediate march of Shee's and Magaw's regiments to New York. Being forthwith put in motion, we proceeded with the utmost speed, and reached the city in the afternoon; but by this time the conflict was over, and the firing had ceased. Here, therefore, we were quartered for the night, under orders to be in readiness to cross the East river by break of day in the morning. Glover's regiment was also moved to this place, and was under similar orders for Long Island. Few particulars of the day's combat were yet known, though it was pretty well ascertained that we had been handled severely, and lost a considerable number of officers and men; but what proportion had been killed, or were prisoners, was merely conjecture. New York was at this

time a scene of tumult and confusion, and it might be added, of dismay.

“The circumstance, however, did not deprive me of my appetite, and the inclination for a good supper, which I had not for some months enjoyed; and therefore, as soon as our men were dismissed to their quarters, which was not until dark, Mr. Forrest and myself set out in pursuit of this object. But some of the publick houses were full, others had no eatables in them, and we began to fear that this little enjoyment we had promised ourselves, was not to be obtained; and that we should be obliged to go to bed supperless. After trying the best looking inns to no purpose, we essayed those of more humble appearance, and at length entered one, that was kept by a middle aged matronly lady. We asked if she could give us supper; she gave us the common answer, that there was nothing in the house. We were now about to give the matter up, and had retired beyond the door, with somewhat of a disconsolate air, perhaps, when the good woman seemed touched with compassion for us. She had probably sons of her own; or if not, she was of that sex which, Ledyard tells us, is ever prone to acts of kindness and humanity. She called us back, and told us that she believed she could make out to give us a lobster. At this we brightened up, assuring her, as we really thought, that nothing could be better; and being shown into a small, snug apartment, we called for a pint of wine. We now thought ourselves, instead of outcasts, favourites of fortune, as, upon comparing notes with our brother officers, next day, we found we had reason, since scarcely one of them had been able to procure a mouthful.”

“On the next day, early in the forenoon, we were transported to Long Island; marched down to the entrenchments at Brooklyn, and posted on their left

extremity, extending to the Wallabout. The arrival of our two battalions, (Shee's and Magaw's, which always acted together,) with that of Glover, had the effect I have always found to be produced by a body of men under arms, having the appearance of discipline. Although, owing to the dysentery which had prevailed in our camp, our number was so reduced, that the two regiments could not have amounted to more than eight hundred men, making in the whole, when joined with Glover's, about twelve or thirteen hundred; yet it was evident that this small reinforcement inspired no inconsiderable degree of confidence. The faces that had been saddened by the disasters of yesterday, assumed a gleam of animation on our approach; accompanied with a murmur of approbation in the spectators, occasionally greeting each other with the remark, that *these were the lads that might do something*. Why it should be so, I know not, but the mind instinctively attaches an idea of prowess, to the silence, steadiness, and regularity of a military assemblage; and a hundred well-dressed, well-armed, and well-disciplined grenadiers, are more formidable in appearance, than a disjointed, disorderly multitude of a thousand. Our regiments, to be sure, could not arrogate such perfection; but that they were distinguished in our young army, may be inferred from an official letter from General Washington, wherein he states that 'they had been trained with more than common attention.' To sustain the duty now imposed upon us, required both strength of body and of mind. The spot at which we were posted, was low and unfavourable for defence. There was a *fraised* ditch in its front, but it gave little promise of security, as it was evidently commanded by the ground occupied by the enemy, who entirely enclosed the whole of our position, at the distance of but a few hundred paces.

It was evident, also, that they were constructing batteries, which would have rendered our particular situation extremely ineligible, to say the least of it. In addition to this discomfort, we were annoyed by a continual rain, which, though never very heavy, was never less than a searching drizzle, and often what might, with propriety, be called a smart shower. We had no tents to screen us from its pitiless pelting; nor, if we had had them, would it have comported with the incessant vigilance required, to have availed ourselves of them, as, in fact, it might be said, that we lay upon our arms during the whole of our stay upon the island. In the article of food, we were little better off. We had, indeed, drawn provisions, whose quality was not to be complained of. Our pickled pork, at least, was good; but how were we to cook it? As this could not be done, it was either to be eaten as it was, or not eaten at all; and we found, upon trial, that boiling it, although desirable, was not absolutely necessary; and that the article was esculent without culinary preparation. I remember, however, on one of the days we were in this joyless place, getting a slice of a barbecued pig, which some of the soldiers had dressed at a deserted house which bounded our lines.

"There was an incessant skirmishing kept up in the daytime between our riflemen and the enemy's irregulars; and the firing was sometimes so brisk as to indicate an approaching general engagement. This was judiciously encouraged by General Washington, as it tended to restore confidence to our men, and was, besides, showing a good countenance to the foe.

"On the morning after our first night's watch, Colonel Shee took me aside and asked me what I thought of our situation. I could not but say, I thought it a very discouraging one. He viewed it

in the same light, he said, and added, that if we were not soon withdrawn from it, we should inevitably be cut to pieces. So impressed was he with this conviction, that he desired me to go to the quarters of General Reed, and to request him to ride down to the lines, that he might urge him to propose a retreat without loss of time. I went, but could not find him at his quarters, or at any of the other places where it was likely he might be. It was not long, however, before he came to our station, and gave the colonel an opportunity of conferring with him. This day passed off like the last, in unabating skirmishing and rain. After dark, orders were received and communicated to us regimentally, to hold ourselves in readiness for an attack upon the enemy; to take place in the course of the night. This excited much speculation among the officers, by whom it was considered a truly daring undertaking, rendered doubly so from the bad condition of our arms, so long exposed to the rain; and although we had bayonets, this was not the case with the whole of our force, upon whom we must depend for support. It was not for us, however, to object to the measure: we were soldiers, and bound to obey. Several nuncupative wills were made upon the occasion, uncertain as it was whether the persons to whom they were communicated would survive, either to prove or to execute them. I was for a while under the impression that we were to fight; and, in the language of the poet, was 'stiffening my sinews and summoning up my blood,' for what, with the rest, I deemed a desperate encounter. But when I came to consider the extreme rashness of such an attempt, it suddenly flashed upon my mind, that a retreat was the object; and that the order for assailing the enemy, was but a cover to the real design. The more I reflected upon it, the more I was convinced that I

was right; and what had passed in the morning with Colonel Shee, served to confirm me in my opinion. I communicated my conjecture to some of the officers, but they dared not suffer themselves to believe it well founded, though they gradually came over to my opinion; and by midnight they were, for the most part, converts to it. There was a deep murmur in the camp which indicated some movement; and the direction of the decaying sounds, was evidently towards the river. About two o'clock, a cannon went off, apparently from one of our redoubts, 'piercing the night's dull ear,' with a tremendous roar. If the explosion was within our lines, the gun was probably discharged in the act of spiking it; and it could have been no less a matter of speculation to the enemy, than to ourselves. I never heard the cause of it; but whatever it was, the effect was at once alarming and sublime; and what with the greatness of the stake, the darkness of the night, the uncertainty of the design, and extreme hazard of the issue whatever might be the object, it would be difficult to conceive a more deeply solemn and interesting scene. It never recurs to my mind, but in the strong imagery of the chorus of Shakspeare's Henry the Vth, in which, is arrayed in appropriate gloom, a similar interval of dread suspense and awful expectation.

"As our regiment was one of those appointed to cover the retreat, we were, of course, among the last to be drawn off, and it was near daybreak, before we received orders to retire. We were formed without delay, and had marched near half-way to the river, when it was announced that the British lighthorse were at our heels. Improbable as was the circumstance, it was yet so strenuously insisted upon, that we were halted and formed, the front rank kneeling with presented pikes, which we had

with us, to receive the charge of the supposed assailants. None, however, appeared; and the alarm must have proceeded from the fear of those who gave it, magnifying the noise of a few of our own horsemen into that of squadrons of the enemy. We again took up the line of march, and had proceeded but a short distance, when the head of the battalion was halted a second time. The orders we had received were erroneous: we were informed that we had come off too soon, and were commanded with all expedition to return to our post. This was a trying business to young soldiers; it was, nevertheless, strictly complied with, and we remained not less than an hour in the lines before we received the second order to abandon them. It may be supposed we did not linger; but though we moved with celerity, we guarded against confusion, and under the friendly cover of a thick fog, reached the place of embarkation without annoyance from the enemy, who, had the morning been clear, would have seen what was going on, and been enabled to cut off the greater part of the rear. One of my soldiers being too feeble to carry his musket, which was too precious to be thrown away, I took it from him, and found myself able to carry it, together with my own fusee. On attaining the water, I found a boat prepared for my company, which immediately embarked, and taking the helm myself, I so luckily directed the prow, no object being discernible in the fog, that we touched near the centre of the city. It was between six and seven o'clock, perhaps later, when we landed at New York; and in less than an hour after, the fog having dispersed, the enemy was visible on the shore we had left."

John. Was not this a masterly retreat, sir?

Un. Scarcely without a parallel. Now we have escaped so great a danger, let us take our daily walk.

CHAPTER X.

Wm. Uncle, I wish we could go and walk over the ground of the battle of Brooklyn.

Un. It is not to be found, boy. All is now one great city. The hills and woods have vanished; the creeks and marshes are converted to the solid foundations for palaces and temples, and Brooklyn now looks to New York as Pera and Galata do to Constantinople. We could not even trace the roads which at that time led from the village of Brooklyn to the larger adjacent hamlets.

John. General Howe did not attempt to cross from Brooklyn, sir, or to cannonade the city.

Un. No. His object was to preserve the houses for his army, and to get between Washington and the main land. He pushed forward his forces to Hell-gate, occupying an extent of nine miles, and evidently intended to cross the East river or sound, so as to enclose the Americans on the island of Manhattan. To guard against these indications, the continental army was divided into three parts. Five thousand men remained in the town. A body supposed to be nine thousand were near Kingsbridge, and the remainder lined the shores opposite to the enemy. While these military movements were going on, Lord Howe, to take advantage of the recent victory, paroled General Sullivan, and attempted to negotiate with congress without acknowledging them as a political body. He, through Sullivan, expressed his desire to have a conference with some of the members, and offered to meet them where they should appoint. He said, that he and General Howe had powers to settle the dispute on terms advantageous to both the contending parties. That he wished the compromise to take place before either

America or Great Britain could be said to be compelled to it. The answer returned was, "that congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, cannot, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that they being desirous of establishing a peace on reasonable terms, would send a committee to learn whether he had authority or not." Accordingly, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge passed over to Staten Island, from Perth Amboy; and, on their return, reported that Howe had received them politely, on the 11th of September; he observed that he could not treat with them as a committee of congress; but was glad of the opportunity of a conference with them as private gentlemen. They answered, that he might consider them in what light he pleased, and make any propositions; but they could consider themselves in no other character than that in which they were announced. Howe's propositions amounted to the return of the colonies to their allegiance; and the committee let him know *that* was not now to be expected, and so the fruitless conference ended.

John. General Washington soon withdrew all his troops from New York, sir, did he not?

Un. Yes; and not too soon. Too much reliance had been placed upon a chevaux-de-frise, which General Putnam, in a letter to Gates, prides himself upon having invented, but which proved inefficient. General Greene pressed the evacuation of New York, and pointed out the ease with which the enemy could land on either side the island, and throw strong lines across, supported at each end by their ships: this would divide the American army, and force those in the town to capitulate, or fight to great disadvantage with a very superiour adver-

sary. Greene strenuously advised the destruction of the city.

John. That would have been a great pity, sir.

Un. It was his wish that the enemy should not find shelter there.

Wm. But it had been fortified, and I would have fought these proud foreigners in every street.

Un. Unfortunately, the army General Washington commanded, was generally more disposed to run away than fight, and very little inclined to obey their officers.

Wm. Do *you* say so, Uncle?

Un. You must know the truth, boys. As to the city, it had been fortified at every point—the spade had been liberally used. Fort George—the battery below and to the south of it. The wharves and streets had redoubts and breastworks. Bayard's mount was crowned by a fort, and called Bunker's hill. Corlear's hook was surrounded by batteries, and lines crossed the island at various distances. But Washington saw that the enemy could surround the town—their troops had possession of the islands, and their ships passed his batteries unharmed, on either side of the city. He had no confidence in his army, and little command over the best of his troops: reluctantly he agreed with his council of war, to abandon a place that had cost so much labour to strengthen for defence, and which he knew the congress and people expected him to hold. Still he hoped to make a stand on Manhattan island at Haerlem heights, Fort Washington and Kingsbridge. At the council, many thought the post should be retained; but Greene saw the danger of the attempt, or even of the measures resolved upon of withdrawing a part of the army to the forts and lines at Kingsbridge; he urged an immediate retreat from the island, and burning the city and

suburbs. However, against the destruction of the place the congress had determined; and as it could not be defended by troops without discipline, and inferior both in spirit and numbers, all Washington could do was to withdraw his forces and stores, with as much safety as circumstances permitted. About the middle of September, events occurred which convinced the general and all his officers that a speedy retreat from New York was necessary. The Connecticut militia he directed to be withdrawn, and stationed on the sound, and opposite the enemy's force on Long Island. To remove the stores was an object of great consequence and difficulty, while an attack was momentarily expected. To secure an overflowing hospital, and give every convenience to a great number of sick, was another service that tasked this great man's care and humanity: and every moment the enemy were taking stations with the ships of war, or divisions of soldiers, that increased the difficulty of evacuating the city. On the 13th of September, four frigates had passed between Governor's island (of which the English had taken full possession) and Long Island, through Buttermilk Channel, and anchored opposite Stuyvesant's house, above the town. Other ships passed the city, up the North river, and were stationed off Bloomingdale. These last prevented the removal of stores, or the sick, by water. General Washington now shifted his head-quarters to Colonel Morris's house, at Haerlem heights; and, on the 15th, the enemy attacked his redoubts at several points. The general finding that they were attempting to land at Kipp's bay, where two brigades were posted, rode thither, and found his soldiers flying in every direction, even before a boat of the enemy had approached the shore. The appearance alone of an advance guard, caused the brigades of Fellows and Parsons

(notwithstanding the efforts of these officers to keep them in their redoubts) to fly in the most scandalous confusion. About fifty men of the enemy were landed, and Washington was left by his countrymen, alone, exposed to their fire, and for a moment wishing for death rather than the power to witness such dastardly conduct. It is said, that he threatened the cowards with death by his pistols; but they feared the English more than their commander, who was in a manner forced from the spot by those around him. He soon recovered his equanimity—issued orders for covering the retreat, and securing the heights of Haerlem; and the enemy gained a footing on the island without farther advantage than the capture of part of the baggage of the American army.

In the retreat from New York, it is said that, by some error, Silliman's brigade remained too long in the city, and by the cowardly behaviour of the men at Kipp's bay, were nearly cut off. Colonel Knox led them to the fort on Bunker's hill, or Bayard's mount, where they must have surrendered; but Burr, then an aid to Putnam, saw their situation, and marched them, by cross roads, towards the west side of the island, and in safety they joined the main army. This Bunker's hill fort was on a small cone-shaped mount, to the west of the junction of Mott and Grand streets, and could not have contained half a brigade. Major Burr, being familiar with our island, knew that by crossing the *new road*, now Broadway, about the site of the present Grand street, he could lead these lost men along the edge of a swamp, and to the woods which surrounded the house, formerly Washington's head-quarters: and that, by then taking the Greenwich road, he must avoid the enemy. The service was important, and reflects honour on Burr's military talents.

John. Why did not Colonel Knox lead these men by the way which Burr pointed out?

Un. Colonel Knox and the men with him were strangers on this island; and finding that the enemy had possession of the Boston road, and, for any thing he could know, all that part of the island between them and the army, Knox seems to have selected this cone-shaped hill, with its redoubts, as a place for at least temporary defence. Bayard's mount, or Bunker's hill, looked down on the city, from which it was separated by the *kolch*, or fresh water.

John. I think you have said that this hill was near Mott street?

Un. At the time of which we speak, a few straggling houses marked the Bowery, or Boston road. The new road had been cut through the hills, and partially levelled. This extended to Sandy hill, and is now a part of Broadway. A crooked cross-road led from the new road to the Bowery, commencing at what is now the corner of Grand street. Between this crooked path and the Kolch, were the house and garden of Nicholas Bayard, with the hill called Bayard's mount. To the north and east were orchards and woods. To the west, Mr. Knox could have seen only swamps and woods.

Wm. But how did Colonel Burr know this ground better?

Un. He had been familiar with the island from childhood, and was, for a short time, a member of General Washington's family, when his head-quarters were at Richmond hill, the house I have mentioned to you as built by an English paymaster-general. This place, now the corner of Varick and Charlton streets, was on an eminence surrounded by woods; and between it and the river, lay the road to Greenwich and Bloomingdale. Burr, says his biographer, rode out several times with the

general, and by that and other means knew the sheltered and devious ways leading from Bayard's mount to the North river road. After crossing the new road, and descending a hill, they would be concealed, in a great measure; and by passing through the woods north of Richmond hill, would gain the safe and secluded Greenwich road.

John. This was valuable service, sir.

Un. And Mr. Burr complained that the general took no notice of it; for which, and other neglects, Burr became the avowed enemy of Washington, and adherent of Lee and Gates.

Wm. Did the commander-in-chief wrong him, sir?

Un. The character of the two men must answer that question. My opinion is, that the licentious and unprincipled conduct of Mr. Burr, when he left General Washington's family and became an aid to Putnam, so far developed his selfish character, as to prevent the general's favour, or future protection. If he did him injustice, I need not say that he was wronged.

Phil. It seems very strange to me, Uncle, to hear you talk of leading soldiers through swamps and woods, and over hills, here, in the middle of New York!

Un. Right, boy. And when I look for these hills, woods, and swamps, so familiar to me sixty years ago, the present scene "seems very strange" to me. But we must attend to movements on another part of the island, which, although changed, is not yet covered with streets, houses, and churches. The American army now occupied the heights of Haerlem, and the British held the town and the plain between, far outnumbering, in real soldiers, our disheartened and downcast countrymen. But a skirmish took place which revived the courage of

the Americans, and called from the mortified commander-in-chief the cheering words, "our troops behaved well!"

Wm. Tell us something of *this*, Uncle, to make up for Kipp's bay.

Un. The general, in his letter of the 18th of September, 1776, to congress, says, that, seeing several large bodies of the enemy in motion on the plain below the heights, he rode down to the outposts to prepare for their reception if they should attack. When he arrived, he says, he heard a firing, which, he was informed, was between a party of our rangers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Knowlton, and an advanced party of the enemy.

Wm. I remember that name, sir.

John. Was it the same brave Captain Knowlton who fought at the rail fence by the banks of the Mystic?

Wm. And with his hardy Connecticut men covered the retreat of good old Colonel Prescott and his men, when their ammunition was expended?

Un. He acted with sturdy Starke and the New Hampshire men, while Prescott fought in the redoubt. I am glad to find that you do not forget the heroes of Bunker's hill. At this time a lieutenant-colonel, Knowlton commanded a body of rangers, composed of volunteers from the New England regiments; and, under such an officer, they were equal to any troops in the world.

Wm. I wish they had been at Kipp's bay.

Un. General Washington being informed that the body of the enemy, who kept themselves concealed in the wood, was greater than Knowlton's force, ordered three companies of Virginians, under Major Leitch, to his assistance, with orders to try to get in the enemy's rear, while a disposition was making as if to attack them in front, thereby to draw their

whole attention that way. This succeeded; and the British, on the appearance of the party advancing in front, ran down the hill, and took possession of some fences and bushes, and commenced a distant and ineffective firing. The parties under Knowlton and Leitch commenced their attack too soon, and rather on the enemy's flank than in the rear. In a little time Major Leitch was brought off wounded, having received three balls through his side.

Wm. But Colonel Knowlton was left?

Un. In a very short time after, *he* fell, mortally wounded. Still their men fought on undaunted; and the general sent detachments from the eastern regiments, and from the Maryland troops, to their support. These re-enforcements charged gallantly, drove the enemy out of the wood into the plain, and were pushing them from thence, having, as the general says, "silenced their fire, in a great measure," when the British commander, preparing to send on a large re-enforcement, Washington ordered a retreat. The foreign troops that had been engaged consisted of the second battalion of light infantry, a battalion of Highlanders, and three companies of Hessian sharpshooters, the whole under the command of Brigadier-general Leslie. This affair, trifling in itself, and attended by the loss of two gallant officers, one of them before distinguished for courage and conduct, was of great consequence in giving confidence to the American troops. It was a contrast to the shameful rout of the day before, and proved that their foes were not invincible.

Wm. Well! I hope we shall be a match for the English after this!

Un. Not yet, my good boy. I have to tell of sad disasters before the tide of battle turned in our favour; but first we must look to the fate of the city after the enemy took possession of it. A few days

after the death of Colonel Knowlton, an eighth part of New York was destroyed by fire. This was attributed by the English to design. If so, it was certainly without the knowledge or approbation of any publick body or responsible officer, though many ardently desired it.

John. General Greene had advised it.

Un. Captain John Lamb, who had acted with McDougal and Sears before the war, and had since been a brave and efficient officer in Canada with the lamented Montgomery, was at this time a prisoner on board an English ship in the harbour of New York. Called up to view the flames, he expressed his delight. "What," said the captain of the vessel, "do you rejoice in the destruction of your native place?" "I do," was the reply; "it will afford no shelter to your countrymen."

Wm. I believe I should have felt so too.

John. I am sure I should not. What are the authentick accounts of this great fire, sir?

Un. You will find in Sparks's Washington that Howe wrote to his government, and attributed the fire to design; saying, that matches and combustibles had been prepared with great art, and applied by incendiaries in several places. Many, he says, were detected, and some killed upon the spot by the soldiers. He computes the destruction at one fourth of the town.

John. Is there any American account of this fire, sir?

Un. Yes. Mr. David Grim, a very respectable inhabitant of New York, who remained in the city when the British took possession, has left us this. Read it, William.

Wm. "The fire of 1776 commenced in a small wooden house, on the wharf, near the Whitehall slip. It was then occupied by a number of men and wo-

men, of a bad character. The fire began late at night. There being but a very few inhabitants in the city, in a short time it raged tremendously. It burned all the houses on the east side of Whitehall slip, and the west side of Broad street to Beaver street. A providential and happy circumstance occurred at this time: the wind was then southwesterly. About two o'clock that morning, the wind veered to the southeast: this carried the flames of the fire to the northwestward, and burned both sides of Beaver street to the east side of Broadway, then crossed Broadway to Beaver lane, and burning all the houses on both sides of Broadway, with some few houses in New street, to Rector street, and to John Harrison, esquire's, three-story brick house, which house stopped the fire on the east side of Broadway; from thence it continued burning all the houses in Lumber street, and those in the rear of the houses on the west side of Broadway to St. Paul's church, then continued burning the houses on both sides of Partition street, and all the houses in the rear (again) of the west side of Broadway to the North river. The fire did not stop until it got into Mortkile street, now Barclay street. The college yard and the vacant ground in the rear of the same, put an end to this awful and tremendous fire.

"Trinity church being burned, was occasioned by the flakes of fire that fell on the south side of the roof. The southerly wind fanned those flakes of fire in a short time to an amazing blaze, and it soon became out of human power to extinguish the same, the roof of this noble edifice being so steep that no person could go on it.

"St. Paul's church was in the like perilous situation. The roof being flat, with a balustrade on the eaves, a number of citizens went on the same, and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell on the

roof. Thus, happily, was this beautiful church saved from the destruction of this dreadful fire, which threatened the ruin thereof, and that of the whole city.

"The Lutheran church being contiguous to houses adjoining the same fire, it was impossible to save it from destruction. This fire was so furious and violently hot, that no person could go near it, and there were no fire engines to be had at that time in the city.

"The number of houses that were burned and destroyed in this city at that awful conflagration, were thus, viz.: from Mortkile street to Courtlandt street, one hundred and sixty-seven; from Courtland street to Beaver street, one hundred and seventy-five; from Beaver street to the East river, one hundred and fifty-one: total, four hundred and ninety-three.

"There being very few inhabitants in the city at the time, and many of those were afraid to venture at night in the streets, for fear of being taken up as suspicious persons.

"An instance to my knowledge occurred. A Mr. White, a decent citizen, and house-carpenter, rather too violent a loyalist, and latterly, had addicted himself to liquor, was, on the night of the fire, hanged on a tavern sign-post, at the corner of Cherry and Roosevelt streets. Several of the citizens were sent to the provost-guard for examination, and some of them remained there two and three days, until they could give satisfactory evidence of their loyalty.

"Mr. Hugh Gain, in his *Universal Register* for the year 1787, page 119, says, New York is about a mile and a half in length, and half a mile broad, containing, before the fires on the 21st of September, 1776, and 3d of August, 1778, about four thou-

sand two hundred houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants."

Un. Over the ruins left by this fire I have wandered when a boy in every direction. You observe by Mr. Grim's account that the houses on the west side of Broadway, and which were south of Beaver street, escaped the conflagration, and it was in these, that the English generals lived; what is now No. 1, being head-quarters. I must observe that the houses in Broadway, north of Trinity churchyard, were not burned. The City Tavern was on part of the site of the present City Hotel. Between this and St. Paul's church the houses were small, and most of them of wood. The last brick houses in the town were next beyond the church. The ruins on the southeast side of the town were converted into dwelling places by using the chimneys and parts of walls which were firm, and adding pieces of spars, with old canvass from the ships, forming hovels, part hut and part tent. This was called "Canvass-town;" and was the receptacle and resort of the vilest dregs brought by the army and navy of Britain, with the filthiest of those who fled to them for refuge.

Wm. Uncle, let us go on with the war.

Un. First let us take our walk; and to-morrow I will tell of the fate of more brave men.

CHAPTER XI.

Un. There is a small island near Hell-gate which was, in 1776, called Montresor's island. The British had possession of this place, and in an attempt to surprise their garrison, another gallant officer lost his life: this was Major Thomas Henly. But he

fell a volunteer in an expedition for his country's service, and instantly expired after receiving a shot, surrounded and lamented by his friends. But a more lamentable tale I have to tell of the fate of a fine young man who voluntarily risked the meeting of an inglorious death among his country's enemies, exposed to brutal taunts, and that, without the hope or promise of other reward than an approving conscience. This intelligent young man, late a student at Yale college, and now a captain in Knowlton's Rangers, being informed of the great lack of information respecting the enemy, after the retreat from Long Island offered to go among them in disguise, and bring accurate statements to General Washington.

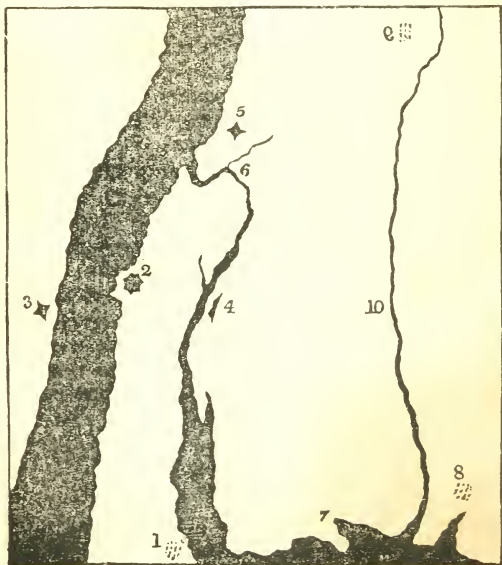
Wm. A spy!

Un. Yes. A spy; but from pure motives. All the world has heard of Major André. He has been sung by poets, and monuments have been raised to him. He fell into the snare he had contrived with a traitor for the destruction of thousands; but Captain Hale, who died, only lamenting that he had "but one life to sacrifice for his country," has, until recently, been unnoticed by history; and no stone tells where his bones were interred.

John. What is known of the manner of his death?

Un. He passed in disguise through the English posts on Long Island, and had made such observations as an intelligent gentleman alone could make; but in attempting to return he was apprehended, and carried before General Howe. He acknowledged his object and rank, and was delivered over to the provost-marshal, Cunningham, for execution. This savage added all in his power to the bitterness of death. The presence of a clergyman was denied him. He was permitted to write to his mother and other friends, but the letters were destroyed.

Thus, unknown to all around him and mocked by ruffian executioners, died as fine a young man as America could boast, breathing his last in prayers for his country. It is said, Cunningham gave as a reason for destroying the young man's letters, that the rebels should not see how firmly one of their army could meet death.—Let us resume the military history of the two contending hosts. General Howe, finding that the position taken by Washington was too strong to be attacked in front, moved his main army higher up the sound, and crossed over to Frog's Point. This rendered it necessary for a change of position on the American part. Accordingly, leaving a garrison



at Fort Washington, the army was marched to White Plains. General Lee was now with Washington; and General Greene had command at Fort Lee, opposite to the garrison left on York island. By this little map you will see the situation of the principal places mentioned in the narrative. Number 1 is Haerlem. 2, Fort Washington. 3, Fort Lee. 4, the English redoubts raised to cover the crossing Haerlem river. 5, Fort Independence. 6, Kingsbridge. 7, Morrisania. 8, West Chester. 9, East Chester. 10, The river Bronx. Between Forts Washington and Lee had been placed several contrivances to prevent the English ships passing up the Hudson, but they were found to be useless.

John. Which must have rendered these forts useless, I think.

Un. It was so. While Howe moved his army from Frog's Point to New Rochelle, he was attacked successfully by skirmishing parties behind stone walls. At White Plains an action took place without decisive advantage to either party, and Washington, taking a stronger position, expected and awaited an attack. A rain storm intervened; and the Americans withdrew to the heights of North Castle, where their adversary deemed it improper to assault them. Leaving General Lee at this post, the commander-in-chief crossed the North river to Fort Lee, and from thence to Hackinsac. Howe seized this opportunity to attack Fort Washington, left with too slender a garrison under the command of Colonel Magaw. Works were erected on Haerlem river to cover the crossing of the English, which nothing could impede. Now, William, you may read again from Captain Graydon, who, as an eye-witness, and a man of observation, places men and things before us as none but such can do. But first read this extract by another hand, as a more

general description of the place attacked, and the mode of attack.

Wm. "Fort Washington stood on an eminence, situated on the margin of the Hudson, or North river, about two miles and a half below Kingsbridge. The access to the level on the top of it, is steep and difficult on every side, except on the south, where the ground is open, and the ascent gradual, to the fort. The hill extends along the North river about half a mile from the fort; and at the termination of it were some small works, which, with the natural strength of the place, were deemed a sufficient protection against the enemy, in that quarter.

"Nearly opposite to the fort, on the west side of Haerlem river, a body of men was posted to watch the motions of the enemy, who had erected works on the high and commanding ground east of that river, apparently with a design of covering a landing of troops in that part of the island of New York. Two lines extended from the vicinity of Haerlem river, across the island, to the North river, and were in length each about a mile. The first line towards New York, intersected the great road leading to Kingsbridge, after the height is ascended from Haerlem plains: it was a slight intrenchment, with a few weak bastions, without platforms for cannon, and furnished with no other ordnance than a few old iron pieces of small calibre, scarcely fit for use, and an iron six pounder mounted on trucks. The second line was stronger; but on the day of the attack of Fort Washington, was, from necessity, wholly without defence, either of troops, or artillery of any description. Colonel Magaw, who commanded on the island, remained in the fort; Colonel Rawlins, with his regiment of riflemen, was posted on the rear of Mount Washington; Colonel Baxter, with his regiment of militia, on Haerlem river, opposite

Fort Washington; and Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, at the first line, about two and a half miles from the fort, with about eight hundred men, including a re-enforcement of a hundred militia, sent him about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning.

"The operations of the enemy were announced early in the morning, by a cannonade on Colonel Rawlins' position, and a distant one, from the heights of Morrisania, on the line occupied by Colonel Cadwalader; the former with the view of facilitating the attack on that point, by three thousand Hessians: the latter, to favour the approach of Lord Percy with one thousand six hundred men.

"At ten o'clock in the morning, a large body of the enemy appeared on Haerlem plains, preceded by their field-pieces, and advanced with their whole body towards a rocky point of the height, which skirted the plains in a southern direction from the first line, and at a considerable distance from it—and, commencing a brisk fire on the small work constructed there, drove out the party which held it, consisting of twenty men, and took possession of it: the men retiring with the piquet-guard to the first line. The enemy, having gained the heights, advanced in column, on open ground, towards the first line; whilst a party of their troops pushed forward and took possession of a small unoccupied work in front of the first line; from whence they opened their fire with some field-pieces and a howitzer, upon the line, but without effect. When the column came within proper distance, a fire from the six pounder was directed against it; on which, the whole column inclined to their left, and took post behind a piece of woods, where they remained. As it was suspected that they would make an attempt on the right of the line, under cover of the wood, that part was strengthened.

“Colonel Rawlins was some time late in the morning attacked by the Hessians, whom he fought with great gallantry and effect, as they were climbing the heights; until the arms of the riflemen became useless from the foulness they contracted from the frequent repetition of their fire. From this incident, and the great superiority of the enemy, Colonel Rawlins was obliged to retire into the fort. The enemy having gained the heights, immediately pushed forward towards the fort, and took post behind a large storehouse, within a small distance of it.

“But to return to what passed at the first line towards New York. Intelligence having been received by Colonel Cadwalader, that the enemy were coming down Haerlem river in boats, to land in his rear, he detached Captain Lenox with fifty men, to oppose them, and, on further information, a hundred more, with Captains Edwards and Tudor. This force, with the addition of about the same number from Fort Washington, arrived on the heights near Morris’s house, early enough to fire on the enemy in their boats, which was done with such effect, that about ninety were killed and wounded.

“This body of the enemy immediately advanced, and took possession of the grounds in advance of, and a little below, Morris’s house. They hesitated; and this being perceived, from the delay that took place, Colonel Cadwalader, to avoid the fatal consequences that must have resulted from the expected movement, immediately resolved to retire to the fort, with the troops under his command; and pursuing the road which led to the fort, under the heights by the North river, arrived there with little or no loss.”

Un. Now read Captain Graydon’s personal observations.

Wm. “On the 16th of November, before daybreak, we were at our post in the lower lines of Haerlem

heights; that is, our regiment and Magaw's and some broken companies of Miles's and other battalions, principally from Pennsylvania. This might be called our right wing, and was under the command of Colonel Cadwalader; our left, extending to the Hudson above and on the north side of the fort towards Kingsbridge, was commanded by Colonel Rawlins of Maryland, who had there his own regiment of riflemen, and probably some other troops; though, as the position was narrow, numbers were not so essential to it, as to other parts of the general post. The front or centre extending a considerable distance along Haerlem river, was committed to the militia of the Flying Camp, and Colonel Magaw placed himself in the most convenient station for attending to the whole, having selected one or two officers to assist him as aids-de-camp. I think it was between seven and eight o'clock, when they gave us the first shot from one of their batteries on the other side of Haerlem river. It was well directed, at a cluster of us that were standing together observing their movements; but it fell short by about ten or fifteen yards, and bounded over the spot we had precipitately abandoned. In correcting this error they afterward shot too high, and did us no harm; at least, while I remained in this part of the field, which, though enfiladed or rather exposed in the rear, was too distant to be very seriously annoyed. They had better success in front, killing a man with a cannon ball, belonging to our piquets, which they drove in. Soon after, they approached the lines in great force under cover of a wood, in the verge of which they halted, and slowly began to form, giving us an occasional discharge from their artillery. Tired of the state of suspense in which we had remained for several hours, I proposed to Colonel Cadwalader, to throw myself with my

company into a small work or ravelin about two hundred yards in advance, for the purpose of annoying them as they came up. To this he assented, and I took possession of it; but found it was a work that had been little more than marked out, not knee high, and of course affording no cover. For this reason, after remaining in it a few minutes, with a view to impress my men with the idea that a breast-work was not absolutely necessary, I abandoned it, and returned into the intrenchment. This unimportant movement was treated with some respect: not knowing its meaning, it induced the troops that were in column, immediately to display; and the irregulars to open upon us a scattering fire. Soon after my return to the lines, it being observed that the enemy was extending himself towards the Hudson on our right, Colonel Cadwalader detached me thither with my company, with orders to post myself to the best advantage for the protection of that flank. I accordingly marched, and took my station at the extremity of the trench, just where the high grounds begin to decline towards the river. This situation, from the intervention of higher land, concealed from my view the other parts of the field; and thence disqualifies me from speaking of what passed there as an eye-witness; but that the action had begun in earnest, I was some time after informed by my sense of hearing: it was assailed by a most tremendous roar of artillery, quickly succeeded by incessant volleys of small arms, which seemed to proceed from the east and the north; and it was to these points, that General Howe chiefly directed his efforts. On receiving intelligence that embarkations of British troops were about to be thrown across Haerlem river in his rear, Colonel Cadwalader made detachments from his position (already much too weakly manned) to meet this body of the

enemy, as yet unopposed by any part of our force. The first detachment arrived in time to open a fire upon the assailants before they reached the shore, and it was well directed and deadly. Nevertheless, their great superiority of force, adequately aided by artillery, enabled them to land, and, by extending themselves, to gain the heights. On this ground it was, that a sharp contest ensued; speaking of which, in his official account of the action, General Howe says, 'it was well defended by a body of the rebels;' and so it undoubtedly was, when it is considered that but one hundred and fifty of our men, with a single eighteen pounder, were opposed by eight hundred British troops under cover of a battery. But, overpowered by numbers, the resistance was ineffectual; and the detachments engaged in it retired towards the fort. Rawlins, on his part, made a gallant stand against the Hessians under the command of General Knyphausen, to whom had been assigned the perilous glory of gaining this strong piece of ground, differing essentially from that on the borders of Haerlem river, in the want of opposite heights for batteries. The Germans here lost a great many men; but as they had been bought by his Britannick majesty, he had an unquestionable right to make a free use of them; and this seemed to be the conviction of General Howe. Rawlins also suffered a good deal in proportion to his numbers. He had, I think, two officers killed; and himself, Major Williams, and some others, were wounded; one of whom, a Mr. Hanson, died in New York. The attainment of the post of Rawlins, put the Hessians in possession of the ground which commanded the fort; as that, possessed by the British, commanded the open field. Hence, the contest might be said to be at an end.

"Colonel Cadwalader, aware that he was placed

between two fires; and that the victorious enemy in his rear, would soon extend themselves across the island, ordered a retreat just in time to prevent his interception."

"The first notice that I had of the intrenchment being given up, was from an officer I did not know, posted at some distance from me, going off with his men. I called to him to know what he meant. He answered, that he was making the best of his way to the fort, as the rest of the troops had retreated long since. As I had no reason to doubt his veracity, I immediately formed my company, and began to retire in good order, which is more than I can say of my neighbour or his corps; and amidst all the chagrin I afterward felt, that the events of the day had been so unpropitious to our glory, I had the satisfaction to reflect, that the men were always obedient, and ready to partake of any danger their officers would share with them. This, however, was but matter of inference; since I never was attacked, though continually fronted by a strong force, and incommoded by their ordnance, though without being injured by it. After proceeding some hundred paces, I reflected that I had no orders for what I was doing; and that, although I had no right to expect exactness, in a moment of such pressure, it was yet possible my movement might be premature. I knew nothing of what had passed in the centre, or of the enemy being master of the high grounds in my rear about Colonel Morris's house, from whom, no doubt, had proceeded the cannon balls that whizzed by us; and for which, coming in that direction, I could not account. To be entirely correct in my conduct, I here halted my men, and went myself to a rising ground at some distance, from which I might have a view of the lines where Colonel Cadwalader had been posted. They seemed thoroughly manned;

and at the instant, I beckoned to the officers to march back the company, which they immediately put in motion; but looking more attentively, I perceived that the people I saw, were British and Hessian troops that were eagerly pressing forward. Upon this, I hastened back to my party, and as there was no time to be lost, being in a situation to be cut to pieces by a corps of cavalry, I ordered them under the command of my ensign, to make the best of their way and join the body of men, which none doubted being our own, on the heights beyond the inner lines; and that I would follow them as fast as I could, for I was a good deal out of breath with the expedition I had used in going to and returning from the ground, which gave me a view of the outer lines. I accordingly walked on, accompanied by Forrest, who did not choose to leave me alone. The body I had pointed to and directed my company to join, under the idea of their being our own men, turned out to be the British, consisting of Colonel Stirling's division of Highlanders. Upon this discovery, we held a moment's consultation, and the result was, that, hemmed in as we were on every side, there was no chance of escaping; and that there was nothing left but to give ourselves up to them. Thus circumstanced, we clubbed our fuses in token of surrender, and continued to advance towards them. They either did not or would not take the signal; and though there were but two of us, from whom they could not possibly expect a design to attack, they did not cease firing at us. I may venture to say, that not less than ten guns were discharged with their muzzles towards us, within the distance of forty or fifty yards; and I might be nearer the truth in saying, that some were let off within twenty. Luckily for us, it was not our riflemen to whom we were targets; and it is astonishing how

Even these *blunt* shooters could have missed us. But as we were ascending a considerable hill, they shot over us. I observed they took no aim, and that the moment of presenting and firing, was the same. As I had full leisure for reflection, and was perfectly collected, though fearful that their design was to give no quarter, I took off my hat with such a sweep of the arm as could not but be observed, without ceasing however to advance. This had the intended effect: a loud voice proceeded from the breastwork, and the firing immediately ceased. An officer of the forty-second regiment advanced towards us; and as I was foremost, he civilly accosted me by asking me my rank. Being informed of this, as also of Forrest's, he inquired where the fort lay and where Colonel Magaw was. I pointed in the direction of the fort, and told him I had not seen Colonel Magaw during the day. Upon this, he put us under the care of a sergeant and a few men, and left us. The sergeant was a decent looking man, who, on taking us into custody, bestowed upon us in broad Scotch the friendly admonition of, *Young men, ye should never fight against your king.* The little bustle produced by our surrender, was scarcely over, when a British officer, on horseback, apparently of high rank, rode up at full gallop, exclaiming, *What! taking prisoners! Kill them, kill every man of them.* My back was towards him when he spoke; and although, by this time, there was none of that appearance of ferocity in the guard, which would induce much fear that they would execute his command, I yet thought it well enough to parry it, and turning to him, I took off my hat, saying, *Sir, I put myself under your protection.* No man was ever more effectually rebuked. His manner was instantly softened: he met my salutation with an inclination of his body, and after a civil question

or two, as if to make amends for his sanguinary mandate, he rode off towards the fort, to which he had inquired the way.

“ Though I had delivered up my arms, I had not adverted to a cartouch-box which I wore about my waist, and which, having once belonged to his Britannick majesty, presented, in front, the gilded letters G. R. Exasperated at this trophy on the body of a rebel, one of the soldiers seized the belt with great violence, and in the attempt to unbuckle it, had nearly jerked me off my legs. To appease the offended loyalty of the honest Scot, I submissively took it off and delivered it to him, being conscious that I had no longer any right to it. At this time a Hessian came up. He was not a private, neither did he look like a regular officer: he was some retainer, however, to the German troops; and was as much of a brute as any one I have ever seen in the human form. The wretch came near enough to elbow us; and half unsheathing his sword, with a countenance that bespoke a most vehement desire to use it upon us, he grinned out in broken English, *Eh, you rebel, you damn rebel!*

“ These transactions, which occupied about ten minutes, passed upon the spot on which we were taken, whence we were marched to an old stable or out-house, where we found about forty or fifty prisoners already collected, principally officers. We remained on the outside of the building; and for nearly an hour sustained a series of most intolerable abuse. The term rebel, with the epithet *damned* before it, was the mildest we received. We were twenty times told, sometimes with a taunting affectation of concern, that we should every man of us be hanged; and were nearly as many times paraded with the most inconceivable insolence, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there were not some

deserters among us; and these were always sought for among the officers, as if the lowest fellow in their army was fit for any post in ours. 'There's a fellow,' an upstart Cockney would exclaim, 'that I could swear was a deserter.' 'What countryman are you, sir? did you not belong to such a regiment?' I was not indeed challenged for a deserter; but the indignity of being ordered about by such contemptible whipsters, for a moment unmanned me, and I was obliged to apply my handkerchief to my eyes. This was the first time in my life, that I had been the victim of brutal, cowardly oppression; and I was unequal to the shock; but my elasticity of mind was soon restored, and I viewed it with the indignant contempt it deserved.

"For the greater convenience of guarding us, we were removed from this place, to the barn of Colonel Morris's house, already mentioned, which had been the head-quarters of our army, as it now was of the royal one. This was the great bank of *deposite* for prisoners taken out of the fort; and already pretty well filled. It was a good new building, and we were ushered into it among the rest, the whole body consisting of from a hundred and fifty, to two hundred, composing a motley group to be sure. Here were men and officers of all descriptions, regulars and militia, troops continental and state, some in uniforms, some without them, and some in hunting shirts, the mortal aversion of a red coat. Some of the officers had been plundered of their hats, and some of their coats; and upon the new society into which we were introduced, with whom a showy exterior was all in all, we were certainly not calculated to make a very favourable impression.

"The officer who commanded the guard in whose custody we now were, was an ill-looking, low-bred fellow of this dashing corps of light-infantry. As

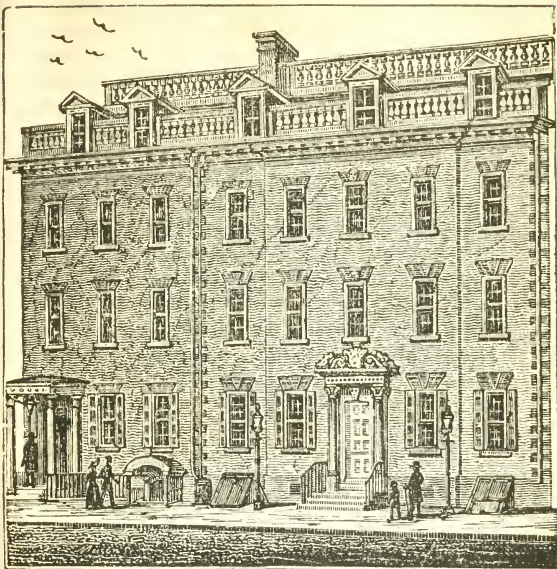
I stood as near as possible to the door for the sake of air, the enclosure in which we were being extremely crowded and unpleasant, I was particularly exposed to his brutality; and repelling with some severity one of his attacks, for I was becoming desperate and careless of safety, the ruffian exclaimed, *Not a word, sir, or I'll give you my butt*, at the same time clubbing his fusee and drawing it back as if to give the blow. I fully expected it, but he contented himself with the threat. I observed to him that I was in his power, and disposed to submit to it, though not proof against every provocation.

“As to see the prisoners was a matter of some curiosity, we were complimented with a continual succession of visitants, consisting of officers of the British army. There were several of these present, when a sergeant-major came to take an account of us; and particularly, a list of such of us as were officers. This sergeant, though not uncivil, had all that animated, degagee impudence of air, which belongs to a self-complacent non-commissioned officer of the most arrogant army in the world; and with his pen in his hand and his paper on his knee, applied to each of us, in turn, for his rank. He had just set mine down, when he came to a little squat, militia officer from York county, who, somewhat to the deterioration of his appearance, had substituted the dirty crown of an old hat, for a plunder-worthy beaver that had been taken from him by a Hessian. He was known to be an officer from having been assembled among us, for the purpose of enumeration. *You are an officer, sir!* said the sergeant; *Yes*, was the answer. *Your rank, sir!* with a significant smile. I am a *keppun*, replied the little man in a chuff, firm tone. Upon this, there was an immoderate roar of laughter among the officers about the

door, who were attending to the process ; and I am not sure, I did not laugh myself.

“ Although the day was seasonably cool, yet from the number crowded in the barn, the air within was oppressive and suffocating, which, in addition to the agitations of the day, had produced an excessive thirst ; and there was a continual cry for water. I cannot say that this want was unattended to: the soldiers were continually administering to it by bringing water in a bucket. But though we, who were about the door, did well enough, the supply was very inadequate to such a number of mouths ; and many must have suffered much. Our situation brought to my recollection that of Captain Holwell and his party, in the black hole at Calcutta ; and had the weather been equally hot, we should not have been much better off.”

Un. The subsequent personal adventures of this gentleman, the display of the prisoners as marched into New York, and other circumstances, are all interesting and well told ; but we must cease our study for to-day, and take our usual exercise.



CHAPTER XII.

Un. As we returned from our walk yesterday, in passing the Walton House you asked me some questions relative to it. Here is a picture of it; which may serve as a specimen of the architectural improvement to which the rich inhabitants of New York had arrived before the revolution, and form a contrast to the pictures of Dutch houses which I have shown you. The Walton House is now No. 326 Pearl street. This family mansion was, in its time, a thing to wonder and gaze at. It was erected in 1754 by William Walton, a prosperous English.

merchant, who resided in Hanover Square, (now part of Pearl street,) and this splendid dwelling was built *out of town*. It was bequeathed by the founder, who died a bachelor, to his nephew William, who was one of the king's or governor's council before the revolution; and it still remains family property. Built of bricks imported from Holland, and ornamented by brown stone water-tables, lintels, and jambs, it stands a monument of ancient English architecture. The staircase in the ample hall, the carved work in various parts without and within, (I presume all imported,) give it an air of aristocratick grandeur which our modern palaces are deficient in. During the war of the revolution, the commanders of the British army and navy occupied the Kennedy House, now a part of No. 1 Broadway, the Beekman House in Hanover Square, the Verplank House in Wall street, and others; but the Walton House was the residence of its hospitable owner.

John. The story of the capture of Fort Washington and so many brave men has made me melancholy, sir. It must have had a terrible effect on our people. How many prisoners did the English take?

Un. Upwards of two thousand, and many of these the best, in appointment, discipline, and arms, that our army possessed. These added to the men taken on Long Island, filled the prison, the hospital, the churches, and sugar houses of New York with suffering and dying Americans. The British immediately crossed the Hudson, and Washington was obliged to abandon Fort Lee with loss of artillery and stores, and precipitately retreat west of Hackinsack river, with the shadow of an army, every day becoming thinner. General Lee, who commanded what was now the principal body of the forces, was ordered to join the commander-in-chief

as soon as possible, as the enemy evidently were pushing for Philadelphia.

John. Was it not supposed that leaving two thousand men at Fort Washington under a colonel's command, and exposed to the whole British force, was an error ?

Un. Yes; by many. And one of the evils attending the fall of these brave men, was the loss of confidence in General Washington, which it occasioned. His enemies rejoiced, and boldly declared that he was unfit for his station; and none so loudly as Major-general Charles Lee. General Washington had been determined by a council of officers, and by the opinion of one in whom he ever justly placed great confidence, General Greene. Yet I believe he sorely lamented the not withdrawing these men from a post, which, if even more strongly garrisoned, could only have been held for a few days. In the commander-in-chief's letter to congress, dated from General Greene's headquarters, the 16th November, 1776, he says, that when the army was removed in consequence of Howe's landing at Frog's Point, Colonel Magaw was left with 1200 men at Fort Washington with orders to defend it to the last. Afterward "reflecting upon the smallness of the garrison," he wrote to Greene, who commanded on the opposite side of the Hudson, to be governed by circumstances, and revoked the absolute order to Magaw. Hearing of the summons to surrender, the general hastened from Hackinsac, and was prevented crossing to Fort Washington by meeting Greene and Putnam, coming from thence, who assured him that the men were "in high spirits, and would make a good defence." Next morning the attack commenced, and when the column of Colonel Rahl had gained the ground on the hill within 100 yards of the fort,

and all the advanced troops had been driven in or taken prisoners, a flag with a second demand of surrender was sent in to Magaw, at the same time that Washington, who viewed the contest from the *palisades*, (the rocks opposite,) sent a billet to the colonel directing him to hold out, and he would endeavour, in the evening, to bring him off. It was too late: the treaty of surrender had been entered into, and could not be retracted. Magaw and his brave men became prisoners of war, the soldiers retaining their baggage and the officers their swords. Their fate was hard. Most of these troops were Pennsylvanians; and strange as it must appear to us *now*, many of them thought they were sacrificed to the jealousy of the eastern men; and here is an extract from an intercepted letter, which shows again the hostile feelings which some of the New England people entertained towards their brethren of the middle and southern states. I copied it from Gainé's New York Mercury of December 9, 1776, and the whole letter is a curiosity. It is written from North Castle, where Lee was in command, and dated November 18th. After mentioning the surrender of Fort Washington, the writer says, "I am glad a southern officer commanded: the story is not told to his advantage."

John. Who was the writer, sir?

Un. Joseph Trumbull, "Commissary-general," as Gainé has it, "of the rebel army."

Wm. But is a letter so published to be considered genuine?

Un. If it contains internal evidence of its authenticity, as this does. He says, "I received a letter from brother Jack, dated the 4th of November in which he says he has not received his commission, and resents it highly, as he has a right to do: it is scandalous treatment; I apprehend Schuyler

has kept it." Now this perfectly accords with what I before showed you from a letter in the handwriting of Mr. Trumbull, to General Gates. There is historick evidence likewise that letters at this time were intercepted and found their way to New York. One was from General Washington to his wife, and was with true politeness forwarded to the general by Sir William Howe, unopened.

Wm. Was he a great general, sir?

Un. All his operations, since landing on Staten Island, appear to me to have been conducted with great skill.

John. What was passing, during this time, in the northern part of our state?

Un. We will leave our dispirited and discomfited friends on the west side of the Hudson for a time, and return to Schuyler and Gates. You have heard the audacious attempt of the English officer to supersede the American, and the rebuke given to the usurper by congress. I have pointed out the calumnies with which the adherents of Gates attempted to injure Schuyler, and the manly, forgiving spirit with which he met these injuries. We will now take a brief view of the events of the remainder of the campaign in this region, where General Schuyler retained the chief command, and Messrs. Gates and Arnold acted under him. On the 3d of August, 1776, Schuyler writes to Gates as to a friend, lamenting that he should be the object of envy, when his wish is to be in a private station. He says, at "the conclusion of the last campaign I begged leave of congress to retire, and in confidence communicated to General Washington my more immediate reasons for it." He laments that he was persuaded to continue. About this same time, General Carleton (who was preparing to gain possession of Lake Champlain by building a fleet superiour to

that which Schuyler had constructed for its defence, and intrusted to Arnold) issued these general orders; read them:—

Wm. “Letters or messages from rebels, traitors in arms against their king, rioters, disturbers of the public peace, plunderers, robbers, assassins, and murderers, are, on no account, to be admitted. Should emissaries from such lawless men again presume to approach the army, whether under the name of flag-of-truce-men, or ambassadors, except when they come to implore the king’s mercy, their persons shall be immediately seized.”

Un. Such was the style our enemies at the north assumed; and the British treasury soon enabled them to gain a superiority in naval force on the lake. At the west, Butler, an English partisan, with seven hundred Indians and whites, were advancing upon Fort Stanwix, (since miscalled Rome,) where Col. Dayton was not in force to oppose them. Surrounded by difficulties, which were rejoiced in and increased by the man to whom he communicated them, General Schuyler wrote to Gates that he has notified congress and General Washington, of his determination to resign his commission, and insist on a hearing. He says, “My countrymen will be astonished to find that I shall not only clearly exculpate myself of all infamous charges laid to me, but point out that it ought to be bestowed elsewhere.” At this time Joseph Trumbull writes to Gates: “I find that General Schuyler is about to resign; I congratulate you and myself thereon.”

John. It appears to me, sir, that the misrepresentations and calumnies urged against Mr. Schuyler were monstrous.

Un. He was aware of the atrocious calumnies by which his enemies were endeavouring to destroy him. You well remember the letter of Joseph

Trumbull to Gates, in which he attributes the death of Montgomery, and the misfortunes in Canada, to the man whose wish is that Gates likewise should be knocked in the head. Yet you have seen that this man was straining every nerve to serve his country. While forwarding the service on Lake Champlain, he was engaged, as he says in a letter to Washington, "on business the most disagreeable, to a man accustomed to civil society, that can possibly be conceived." A whole month, at the German Flats, was he endeavouring to secure the neutrality of the Indians by speeches and presents. He says, he "believes the Six Nations will not fall on the frontiers:" but he was, at the same time, preparing for defence. To congress he complains, that his character had been barbarously traduced: he asks for a committee to inquire how far the mis-carriages in Canada, or if at all, are to be imputed to him. He says, "conscious of the mediocrity of my talents, and that I am vastly inadequate to the command I am honoured with, yet, on this occasion, I may be allowed to say, that I do not believe that I shall even be convicted of an error of judgment."

John. Boldly said, sir.

Un. Like a man conscious of rectitude. He continues: "Confidence of the army, in me, I know, is, in a great measure, destroyed by insidious insinuations, industriously propagated by a set of miscreants." September 14th, he tenders his resignation to congress: "I am still willing to meet any inquiry. Oppressed as I have been by calumnies, I shall be always ready to do the duties of a good citizen, and to give my successor all the information and assistance in my power." He notifies General Washington that he has resigned, and adds, "after two weeks, I prepare to attend to my duty in congress."

John. Did he then quit the service, sir?

Un. No; congress would not accept his resignation. Still, their conduct towards him was so unsatisfactory, that but for events on Lake Champlain, that called upon his patriotism, he would have retired in disgust. He wrote to congress, and called upon them, in vain, (as his friend Washington incessantly did,) for a change of measures. He complained in letters, to those he thought his friends, of the unjust charges brought against him; and, among others, he unfolded his grievances to Samuel Chase and Governor Trumbull. In the mean time English gold accomplished more than continental paper, and General Carleton equipped a fleet on the lake, which destroyed that commanded by Arnold; and, being then master of this little inland sea, he threatened the army of Gates at Ticonderoga. This again called forth all the energies of Schuyler, who forwarded re-enforcements, and endeavoured to guard the country by its militia; but this last species of force was such to him as the commander-in-chief had found it, "a broken reed:" refractory, insubordinate in all things, they would neither march nor work, when ordered: but a sufficient show of opposition was made to induce the British general to defer his attack on "*Ti*;" and, as the winter was approaching, (to avoid being frozen in the lake, where he would be certain of destruction from surrounding enemies,) he prudently returned to Canada, and relieved the good people of New York from their fears for the present.

John. And this would give an opportunity for the troops of the northern department to go to the relief of General Washington.

Un. Just so. General Schuyler dismissed the militia, and on the 12th November, from Albany, he orders Gates to send on the Jersey and Pennsyl-

vania troops, to embark upon the Hudson. "I shall have sloops in readiness to convey them down." "General Sinclair or General Maxwell to march with the regiments destined for the southward." At the same time, Gates received a letter in a very different style. It is like an under current in the sea, or an under plot in a fiction. Read that ; it is copied from the handwriting of Mr. Gates's friend :

Wm. "The enclosed I received from *our mutual good friend, Mr. Gerry*. The tory interest is (with?) General Schuyler. Walter Livingston is to be nominal contractor, and Philip Schuyler, *major-general*, real contractor. That Livingston will take the contract, is now ascertained by his letter to me of the 8th instant, (November.)"

John. Who wrote this, sir ?

Un. Joseph Trumbull.

Wm. What does he mean by tory interest ?

Un. The most hateful appellation that could then be bestowed was "tory," and this is appropriated to the friends of Schuyler. A short time after, it was, we may reasonably suppose, applied to those who supported Washington against the same knot of intriguers.

John. Was there no danger of a winter expedition against Ticonderoga ?

Un. General Schuyler took precautions to meet such. He informed congress that he had supplied that post with provisions, and pointed out measures to anticipate any attempt of the enemy. He calls on Governor Trumbull to send on the troops, raised in his state, to "Ti" and Fort George. At the same time, we find him directing Gates to proceed with troops to aid General Washington, and calling upon influential men to establish the government of the State of New York, that the unprincipled and licentious may be controlled. To his old friend and fel-

low-labourer, General George Clinton, then commanding at New Windsor, he forwards timber for obstructing the navigation of the Hudson; and instructs him in the manner of constructing and sinking casoons. Such were the cares of this great man; while those who were undermining him were occupied with schemes of selfish ambition, or modes of obtaining lucrative contracts.

John. The contrast is very striking, sir.

Phil. Uncle, what are casoons?

Un. They are square frames of timber, which are filled with stones, and sunk, to prevent vessels passing or approaching any place. To-morrow we will return to the neighbourhood of New York, and see how General Washington fares in his retreat through New Jersey, with a few disheartened, half-clothed, half-armed troops, followed by the triumphant legions of Sir William Howe. Now for our day's exercise.

CHAPTER XIII.

Un. Tradition says, that Washington sat on one of the pinnacle-rocks of the palisades, opposite the fort which bore his name, and watched, with his telescope to his eye, the progress of the movements that were to decide the fate of two thousand of his best and bravest soldiers. "Here, boy," said an old man to his son, "here he sat, and when he saw the American flag fall, he took the spyglass from his eye, and the big tear rolled down his cheek."

John. Is this a fact, sir?

Un. I cannot vouch for it. Surely, it is very probable. We will now see what this great man says of the situation of himself and army. From

Hackinsac, he wrote to his brother Augustine, November 19th, 1776, and mentioned the loss of Fort Washington: "We have lost not only two thousand men that were there, but a good deal of artillery, and some of the best arms we had." He laments that the different states are so slow in levying their quotas of men: "In ten days from this date, there will not be above two thousand men, if that number, of the fixed established regiments, on this side Hudson's river, to oppose Howe's whole army." Two days after, he informed congress, that the British had followed up the blow of the 16th, by crossing the Hudson and pushing for the bridge over the Hackinsac, obliging him to retreat so as to secure that pass; that the cannon of Fort Lee were lost, with a great deal of baggage, two or three hundred tents, a thousand barrels of flour, and other stores. He was then retreating to put the river Passaic between him and the enemy. He orders Lee to leave his present position and cross the Hudson with the continental troops. On the 27th of November, Lee had not moved. The enemy not only advanced on the track of the retreating Americans, but pushed detachments from Staten Island and passed by Amboy, Woodbridge, and the villages along the Raritan.

John. How did the hostile army treat the inhabitants?

Un. Some of the yeomanry of the country, concluding that all was over, "came in," as it was called; and, according to the proclamation issued by the Howes, submitted and received paper protections; but most of the men retired and left their property to the mercy of the enemy. It was my hap, then a little boy, to be in a village on the route of the army, and I saw the process of plundering the houses in which old men, women, and children,

had been left, in confidence that British magnanimity would shield them.

Wm. The plunderers were Hessians, I suppose?

Un. Not one, on this occasion. They were British infantry; and General Grant was in a house of the little place, (it was at Piscatawa,) receiving submissions and giving protections.

John. It must have been a strange scene.

Un. It made an indelible impression on me. Not far from me stood a female follower of the camp, having charge of a musket, and guarding a pile of household furniture, to which a soldier industriously added by bringing forth from a house, where the mistress and her children stood weeping at the door, every article he could find, from the table and looking-glass, to the tongs and shovel; pots, kettles, women's clothing, and feather beds, were, by the same industry, transferred from the owners' homes to various piles, similarly protected. Here a soldier was seen issuing from a house, armed with a frying-pan and gridiron; and there a camp-follower, bearing a mirror in one hand and a bottle in the other.

Wm. What could soldiers do with feather beds?

Un. They ripped them open with their bayonets, strewed the road with the feathers, and their help-mates carefully preserved the ticking. This system of pillage, and the necessity under which the army might find itself of sweeping off cattle and forage, had a tendency to rouse individual resentment, and turn the timid, or submissive, into soldiers, seeking revenge for personal injury. On the day I witnessed this scene, General Washington was posted at New Brunswick, behind the Raritan, but the river was fordable, and his force altogether inadequate to oppose Cornwallis, at the head of eight thousand veterans. I will here mention a young captain of

artillery, who was in aftertime a conspicuous object in American history, Alexander Hamilton.

John. You mentioned him as a writer on the whig side, when quite a boy.

Un. Yes. This gentleman was born in the West Indies, at the island of Nevis, in the year 1757. He was sent by his friends, for education, to our neighbourhood, and placed at a school in New Jersey, from whence he was transferred to King's college, New York. At New York, young Hamilton not only mingled with the writers of the day, but was active with Sears, M'Dougal, and Lamb, in the bustling scenes of the times; and when the two last entered the army, one a colonel and the other a captain of artillery, Hamilton had qualified himself for a like employment, and raised a company, with which he was present on the Battery when the guns were removed and the Asia fired upon the town. Captain Hamilton was with the army at Brooklyn, the White Plains, and now, with his company and field-piece, was at Brunswick, doomed to retire farther with his future friend.

Wm. You have mentioned some of the leading men of the New York whigs, but say nothing of Captain Sears.

Un. He retired, first to Connecticut, and subsequently to Boston; and there, during the war, was engaged in fitting out ships for his old business of privateering. The other leaders of the popular party, as you know, all entered the army. Marinus Willet I shall have to mention in the events of the subsequent year. When next I speak of Alexander Hamilton, it will be as an aid to the commander-in-chief.

John. Did General Washington retreat beyond the Delaware?

Un. He did. Lord Stirling, with two brigades,

were, on the third of December, at Princeton, and the General at Trenton. Two brigades of his remaining troops, having served their time of enlistment, abandoned him, when now most wanted. General Lee's movements were unknown, both to the commander-in-chief and to congress. An express was despatched "to know where, and in what situation, he and his army were." It was known that some of the regiments from the north had joined him. These were under St. Clair, who, on the 27th November, had written to Gates that he would do all that he could to inspirit the troops, and get them on to Washington's army, but feared that he could not keep them together.

John. This is a melancholy picture of the American army.

Un. A disjointed, disobedient mass: *but* that the head and the heart were sound, what would have been the fate of America! This winter showed to the great commander those on whom he might depend; and developed, in part, the false-heartedness of others. On the 9th of December, General Washington received a letter from Lee by the hand of an officer, who had been sent to seek him and his army, and the general found, that, instead of obeying his orders to join him as soon as possible, the major-general was pursuing schemes of his own, and "hanging on the rear of the enemy," when wanted to oppose their front. The commander writes to him, on the 10th: "Do come on; your arrival may be fortunate; if it can be effected without delay, it may be the means of preserving a city, whose loss must prove fatal to the cause of America." And again, the next day: "Nothing less than our utmost exertions will be sufficient to prevent General Howe from possessing Philadelphia. The force I have is weak, and entirely incompetent to

that end. I must, therefore, entreat you to push on with every possible succour you can bring." Generals Mifflin and Putnam were sent to Philadelphia, and they persuaded congress to fly to Baltimore.

Wm. What was General Lee about, sir?

Un. It is difficult to tell. It is evident that he thought himself better qualified as commander-in-chief than Washington; and it is to be presumed that he wished, while in a separate command, to do something to show the world his superiority. On the 11th of December, he wrote from Morristown, and gave notice that, instead of intending to follow the directions he had received, he was about to make his way to the ferry below Burlington, in case the enemy's column should cross the Delaware, an event which Washington, by securing the boats, and guarding the passes, was endeavouring to prevent; and farther, Lee hints that the Jersey militia would turn out "if they could be sure of an army *remaining* among them." I have copied this from an unpublished letter, in Lee's handwriting, dated Baskingridge, December 13th, 1776, and addressed to Gates; read it:—

Wm. "The ingenious manœuvre of Fort Washington has unhinged the goodly fabric we had been building: there never was so damned a stroke. *Entre nous*, a certain great man is damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation where I have my choice of difficulties."

Un. His situation was in consequence of disobeying orders, and slighting the directions by which his route had been pointed out and measures taken to facilitate his junction with the main army.

Wm. "If I stay in this province, I risk myself and army; and if I do not stay, the province is lost forever. I have neither guides, cavalry, medicines, money, shoes, or stockings. I must act with the

greatest circumspection. Tories are in my front, rear, and on my flanks; the mass of the people is strangely contaminated; in short, unless something which I do not expect turns up, we are lost."

Un. The comment upon this epistle is the fact, that something *which he did not expect* turned up very quickly. On the morning this letter is dated, (which was probably written the evening before,) this circumspect major-general was surprised and carried off to Perth Amboy by a party of British dragoons. I saw him, without a hat, enveloped in a cloak, and surrounded by his captors, galloped into the market square of the town. The command of his army falling on Sullivan, it was safely conducted, by the route designated in the commander-in-chief's letters, thus re-enforcing the main body. And in ten or twelve days after the date of this letter, the "certain great man," who was "damnably deficient," recrossed the Delaware with his troops, without the necessary comforts of "shoes or stockings," and captured, or drove in, the advance of the British army.

Wm. Bravo! The tide is turned!

Phil. But, Uncle, did gentlemen, when writing or speaking, make use of such words as are in this letter?

Un. General Lee was noted for profanity. I would not have given you his letter with such expressions in it, but that I thought they would excite your disapprobation of the like language, and, at the same time, characterize the man.

John. The loss of General Lee, I suppose, was, at the time, considered a great misfortune.

Un. It was, by the Americans; and a source of congratulation and triumph by their enemies. But, at this distance of time, it appears to me as one of the happiest events for our country that could have

occurred. The troops he was keeping from Washington, and probably would have sacrificed by some rash conduct, the suggestion of his vanity, were carried to the service of the country; the councils of the commander were freed from a rash man's influence; and the country taught, in part, that they must look to a *native chief* for success against foreigners. I say "in part," for they had yet another portion of the salutary lesson to learn.

Wm. But, Uncle, you must, if you please, tell us more of General Washington's recrossing the Delaware, and driving back the invaders of New Jersey.

Un. To-morrow we will fight over the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Now we will take our walk.

John. Was it not a curious circumstance, that this vain man should have written such a letter at such a time?

Un. I think it a wonderful exposure of the littleness of human vanity; and consider the preservation of the letter by his friend Gates, one of those circumstances that are not to be accounted for by any ordinary calculation of human purposes. General Gates has left to the world, it is to be presumed without intending it, much written testimony that I shall make use of to elucidate characters and events, which, but for this oversight, might have remained for ever veiled in uncertainty.

CHAPTER XIV.

Un. While General Washington waited in expectation of the forces commanded by Lee, in New Jersey, and those approaching from the north, he

had determined on making a stroke at the victorious enemy, who, as he says, "lie a good deal scattered, and, to all appearance, in a state of security." "A lucky blow in this quarter," he continues, "would be fatal to them, and would, most certainly, rouse the spirits of the people, which are quite sunk by our late misfortunes." The contempt with which the royalists now looked upon the efforts of the Americans to resist his majesty's arms, and the opinion they entertained of Washington and his army, may be judged of by these extracts from the New York papers; read them:—

Wa. "In Gaine's Gazette of December, 1776, the repetition of the word *rebel*, in every paragraph, becomes ludicrous. Of Washington's force he says, 'such a miserable set of ragged creatures were never scraped together before, as those who form the rebel army in Pennsylvania.' Rivington had advertised, 'price one shilling, The Battle of Brooklyn, a farce in two acts, as it was performed on Long Island, on Tuesday, the 27th of August, 1776, by the representatives of the Tyrants of AMERICA, assembled at Philadelphia.'"

Un. The "rebel army" was supposed to be annihilated. Their great General Lee, was safe in the old city hall, in Wall street, with sentinels in his apartment, and before its door. He was confined in one of those dungeon-like places which had been crowded with the victims of the negro plot. The English army were cantoned on the banks of the Delaware, ready to cross when the ice made a bridge. General Washington had secured the boats, and had feeble detachments, under the command of Lord Stirling, stationed at the passes down the river, towards Philadelphia. The troops, now fortunately commanded by Sullivan instead of Lee, joined the commander-in-chief; but most of them

were unfit for action. Those under Gates, likewise arrived; but their term of service had expired, (owing to the short enlistments, so fatally adopted by congress and so often protested against by their general,) and only by the great exertions of Washington, were a part of them persuaded to re-enlist for six weeks. Gates pleaded sickness, and left head-quarters to *recruit* for himself in Philadelphia. With this shadow of an army, the commander-in-chief meditated the blow that was to save Philadelphia, and perhaps the continent. He had, however, with him, "good men and true," Greene, Knox, Sullivan, Stirling, Cadwalader, and other native Americans, to whom we must add the good old Scotch physician, General Mercer.

Wm. And Hamilton, Uncle.

Un. It was not until after the battle of Trenton, that Alexander Hamilton, who had served through the arduous campaign of 1776, as a captain of artillery, was made an associate with Harrison, Tilghman, and Meade, as an aid to the commander-in-chief. Thus circumstanced, the enterprise of crossing the Delaware, and beating up the enemy's quarters in New Jersey, was arranged for the 25th of December, at night, with the hope of making an attack upon Trenton before daylight. The forces of the enemy here posted, were the three German regiments of Anspach, Knyphausen, and Rahl, with a troop of English lighthorse. Colonel Rahl commanded; and had previously distinguished himself as the leader of the Hessian column who surmounted the greatest difficulties, and suffered the greatest loss at the attack upon Fort Washington.

Wm. I remember him, sir. He led his column up the steep hill on the north of the fort, and to his summons Colonel Magaw surrendered.

Un. I am pleased that you are so accurate.

John. What was the plan of attack, sir, upon Trenton?

Un. Two detachments, under generals Ewing and Cadwalader, were to cross the Delaware to co-operate with the main division, commanded in person by Washington; but unfortunately both failed, owing to the obstruction of ice. The main body, impeded by a snow storm, and by the same obstacles which defeated the other divisions, did not accomplish their landing until near four in the morning, and then had to march nine miles to the attack. In two divisions these brave men proceeded, and entered Trenton nearly at the same time, about eight o'clock, simultaneously driving in the enemy's outposts. The main body of the Germans formed, but finding that their artillery was already in the possession of the Americans, and that the avenues of retreat were guarded, after a slight resistance, during which Colonel Rahl was mortally wounded, eighty-three officers, and eight hundred and eighty-six soldiers, agreed to lay down their arms. The English lighthorse made good their retreat, as did a part of the Germans; which could not have happened if Ewing and Cadwalader had succeeded in crossing the river. General Washington had the pleasure of sending a Hessian standard by his first aid-de-camp, Colonel Baylor, to congress; and his promotion to a regiment of horse, made a vacancy for Captain Hamilton, which, with the rank of colonel, he long and efficaciously filled.

Wm. This was a glorious affair!

Un. It was, boy! And, with the immediately subsequent movements, showed America that their general was not so deficient as the English generals in our service represented him. It astonished the enemy, and roused the friends of the cause to action; but could not strangle the monster, cabal, which was

already in operation, although it prevented its immediate effect.

John. But the British were still much stronger in New Jersey than our army.

Un. Greatly superiour in force. Washington, with his prisoners and fatigued companions, recrossed the Delaware; having in this enterprise only two officers and two privates wounded. One of these officers was Lieutenant James Monroe, who lived to be president of the United States, which he then, as a subaltern, fought for. The English troops from the lower posts on the Delaware retreated, and their forces were concentrated at Brunswick and Princeton. General Cadwalader crossed, without knowing that Washington had re-crossed, the Delaware; and other bodies of militia entered New Jersey from Pennsylvania. The commander-in-chief, after giving a short time to the refreshment of his companions, again passed the Delaware, and took post at Trenton. At this time congress were so fully assured of the talents and *honesty* of their general, that they invested him with powers, for six months, which amounted to what you read of in Roman history, when the senate appointed a dictator.

John. Subsequent events proved that the confidence was not misplaced.

Un. He replied, on the 1st of January, 1777, to the communication from congress: "Instead of thinking myself freed from all *civil* obligations by this mark of their confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind, that as the sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside, when those liberties are firmly established." He promised an immediate reform of the army—indeed he had to form a new army; but at this moment the enemy were advancing with a force that was overwhelming. The American militia

were ordered from Crosswix and Bordentown to join the main army at Trenton, which they did by a forced night march under direction of Cadwalader and Mifflin, on the 2d of January. That morning the British attempted to pass the Assanpink creek, which runs through Trenton, and divided them from the Americans, but finding the fords guarded, they halted, and kindled their fires. Through the day cannonading kept up a show of battle, but as soon as darkness aided him, Washington began to remove his little band, already, in anticipation, prisoners to Lord Cornwallis, who commanded this advanced body of very superiour force to the Americans, and saw Washington hemmed in between him and the Delaware. His baggage being sent down the river to Burlington, and his camp fires renewed to deceive the enemy, the new dictator led his companions by a circuitous road past the army of the enemy, and at sunrise attacked the post of Princeton, where three British regiments, the fifty-fourth, fortieth, and seventeenth, with a body consisting of three troops of lighthorse, had been left under the command of General Vaughan. Two of these regiments, the seventeenth and fifty-fourth, (particularly the first,) made a gallant resistance, and lost in killed and prisoners five hundred men. The Americans carried off fourteen British officers, and near three hundred privates. Our loss was the "brave and worthy General Mercer," two colonels, two captains, and five subalterns killed, with about thirty private soldiers. This brilliant stratagem, and successful attack, placed the reputation of Washington higher than it had ever been, and proved that with adequate support, and no "treason in the camp," he would have terminated this contest in a very short time. But he had *not that support*, and treason

was industriously at work to the last day of the struggle for independence.

Wm. How do you know it, Uncle?

Un. In another lesson I will show you the testimony. At present we must see what were the immediate consequences of this brilliant military achievement. General Washington knowing the great superiority of the enemy's force, passed over Rocky Hill, and did not halt until he reached a place called Pluckamin, on his way to Morristown. Often have I seen him in after days, at the house of Mr. John Vanhorne, at Rocky Hill, where on this occasion he stopped for refreshment. In the mean time, the British, alarmed for their stores and military chest, left at Brunswick, marched rapidly for that place; and many of those discomfited at Princeton, I saw (and heard talk over their misfortunes) at Perth Amboy.

John. You were in New Jersey, sir, while these scenes of warfare passed?

Un. Yes; and with the eyes and ears of wondering childhood noted and treasured up that which was passing around me. To English soldiers and officers I had been accustomed from infancy, but during this winter of 1776-7, I saw moving around me British grenadiers and light troops, with artillerists and infantry of various regiments; troops of English dragoons, and German *yagers*; the Highlanders of the forty-second and seventy-first regiments, with their tartans, their kilts, phillibegs, broadswords, pistols, and dirks, added to the common arms of musket and bayonet; the regiments of Anspach, in their sober blue and black uniform, black high caps, and black mustaches; the Waldeckers, gay in blue, yellow, and white lace; the Hessians, with their tall brass caps, glittering in the sun, and loaded with accoutrements heavy in the extreme—

all these, at times in all the rigidity of discipline, and at times tearing down fences and outhouses for fuel, or driving in rebel cows and oxen from the adjacent country; and, sometimes, bringing in plunder apparently less necessary for the subsistence of an army, such as chairs, tables, bureaus, bedsteads, and looking-glasses, piled upon baggage wagons, and regularly guarded by an escort.

Wm. Did you ever see a battle, sir?

Un. No, thank heaven, I never did. The nearest approach to seeing men kill one another that came under my observation, I will recount to you. After the brilliant affairs of Trenton and Princeton, where Washington, with a disorganized remnant of an army half-clothed in the midst of winter, surprised, eluded, and defeated the bravest and best-appointed troops of Europe, commanded by skilful and experienced generals, he retired to Morristown, and sheltered as well as he could such soldiers as re-enlisted, or could be persuaded to remain after their period of service had expired. The British, panick-struck, to be beaten by a foe who they thought had been annihilated, retired to Brunswick and Perth Amboy, only occupying these two posts, and ravaging the ten miles of country between them. Straitened for a field to forage on, they sometimes overstepped their bounds but found the Jersey men on the watch for them. General Dickenson, with four hundred militia, defeated a foraging party in January, 1777, took forty wagons, and upwards of a hundred horses; the light wagons carrying off the enemy's wounded. Colonel Parker attacked another party, convoying wagons from Brunswick to Amboy, with success. Colonel Neilson, of Brunswick, surprised Major Stockton of Skinner's refugee corps, and made him prisoner, with fifty-nine of his men. But in February, General Howe

indicated moving forward towards Philadelphia, or attacking the Americans, by the increase of his army in New Jersey, and by taking his head-quarters at Brunswick. Perth Amboy was crowded with troops, and in the harbour a fleet of transport ships, well filled with the grenadiers and light infantry of the British army, had recently arrived from Rhode Island; for these, there was no shelter on shore.

John. Such a host in so small a compass must have suffered for provision and forage.

Un. Their ships were well provided, a succession of transports constantly arriving; and the "hard money" of the English was attractive to those who loved gain more than good; still forage became necessary, and the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Amboy and Brunswick had been exhausted or laid waste. One fine morning in March, 1777, all the grenadiers and light infantry were landed from the ships, and, with drums beating and colours flying, marched through the town, in all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of murderous war. I had never seen so many soldiers or so fine a body of armed men paraded before. All *British*, and the chosen of the army. As a child, I gazed and attended upon the show, until it had passed beyond the barracks, (a range of brick buildings without the little city,) and then retired, filled with admiration and indefinite anxiety. I mounted to an upper window, from which I saw the glittering procession, and a long train of wagons, wind over the hills on the road to Woodbridge. I then descended, and walked, silent and solitary, to the skirts of the town. Scattering shots were soon heard. I saw a soldier returning with his right hand bandaged and in a sling, and recognised the tallest grenadier that had attracted my attention in the preceding show, a leader of a company that all looked giants in strength and

deportment. He was suffering, bleeding, and pale. Soon other disabled men came straggling back. The evening of that day was cold, and I sat by my father's fire, listening to the wagons that passed the door, and the groans of the wounded and dying men who had that morning marched out so proudly, confident in strength and discipline, and purposing to fill these vehicles with the spoils of the agriculturist—the product of his labour, and the sustenance of his household.

Wm. Had there been a battle, sir?

Un. After the first skirmishing, the fruits of which I had seen, this army had passed on and swept a portion of the country, with the spoils of which they loaded their wagons; but retribution followed quick upon the heel of perpetration. They were followed, attacked, and discomfited; they rallied, and fought for the spoil; but finally returned in darkness to the place they had left so triumphantly, silently attending upon their groaning companions, who occupied the place of the forage they had plundered. This is all I ever saw of a battle, or its glorious effects upon suffering humanity.

John. Is this attempt and repulse mentioned by historians, sir?

Un. I remember nothing answering to it nearer than in Stedman's History of the War, in which he says, General Vaughan, with the garrison at Amboy, attempted to surprise the American pickets at Woodbridge, but was disappointed. General Vaughan commanded this army of foragers, and that is the only similitude.

Wm. What became of General Lee, sir?

Un. Sir William Howe affected to treat him as a deserter, and threatened to try him as such; but the "certain great personage" who was so "deficient," having in his power the field-officers taken at Tren-

ton, and others, let Howe understand that as Lee was treated *they* must be treated, and offered to exchange a certain number of them for him. In the mean time, as the garrison of New York had been weakened by the troops thrown into New Jersey, Washington ordered General Heath, with such militia as could be commanded, to make a movement on to the British lines at Kingsbridge. Heath invested Fort Independence, summoned the garrison to surrender, and then, (perhaps very prudently, considering the kind of force he had,) as they refused, marched away again. Arduous and important were the exertions of Washington this winter and spring to call together the troops voted to be raised by the several states; to inoculate his feeble army for the small-pox, while almost in immediate presence of the enemy; to remedy the abuses arising from militia services, state jealousy, and ignorant and selfish officers; to direct and arrange a force in the north for resisting the threatened attack from Canada; to satisfy the discontents of foreign officers commissioned by congress, and a thousand other perplexities, requiring prudence, firmness, forbearance, and perseverance, almost more than mortal. General Howe, finding that he could gain no advantage over his adversary by feints and manœuvres, finally withdrew his army from New Jersey, and while preparing for an expedition against Philadelphia by sea, threatened the posts on the Hudson by sending ships up the river, at the same time that he pushed a detachment upon Danbury, where it succeeded in destroying a large quantity of military stores.

John. It was near Danbury that General Wooster was killed, I think, sir.

Un. It was. A small force was collected under General Arnold, who attempted to resist the English troops as they returned to their fleet, and General

Wooster, in the conflict that ensued, was mortally wounded. The exertions of Arnold were consonant with his character for intrepidity and intelligence: he had two horses shot under him, and when down and exposed to a soldier who advanced to bayonet him, he coolly drew his pistol and arrested his enemy's purpose by a well-aimed shot. Our old acquaintance, Captain Lamb, distinguished himself for courage and conduct. The enemy lost a number of men, but obtained their object. On the other hand, the Americans triumphed in a successful expedition from Connecticut to Long Island. This was planned by General Parsons, and executed by Colonel Meigs. On the 23d of May, he crossed the sound to Southhold, where he arrived at six, P. M. His object was an attack upon the British post of Sag Harbour. The boats were transported over land to a bay adjacent to the town, and this bay was crossed in time to arrive within four miles of their object by midnight. With his gallant band, Colonel Meigs arrived at the harbour by two, A. M., carried the enemy's outposts at the bayonet's point, and proceeded directly to the shipping. An armed schooner endeavoured to arrest their progress by opening a fire upon the Americans at a short distance, but they accomplished the design of the expedition by destroying twelve brigs and sloops, part of which were armed, and a large quantity of stores; they carried off ninety soldiers prisoners, and left six killed on the spot, without the loss of a man. The party returned safe to Guilford, having been absent twenty-five hours. Colonel Meigs was presented with a sword by congress; and Arnold, for his conduct and gallantry at Danbury, was promoted to the rank of major-general, which, according to the opinion of the commander, had been withheld from him unjustly by congress some time before, when they appointed

Messrs. Stirling, Mifflin, St. Clair, Stephens, and Lincoln, to that rank, thereby placing them above this officer, whose claims at that time were, as a soldier, beyond those of any one of them.

John. How did he bear this, sir?

Un. He was much dissatisfied. He was a selfish and ambitious man, not serving for the country's good alone, like the noble Montgomery. He could talk loudly of injured honour, and was from this moment a discontented man, and ready for the tempter.

CHAPTER XV.

Wm. Where was General Gates, sir, all this time?

Un. Making friends in Philadelphia, and in congress; attending solely, as I believe, to his own selfish ends. He had the command in Philadelphia. Congress had passed a resolve expressing their desire that Major-general Gates (retaining his rank and pay) would resume the office of adjutant-general. This was ardently desired by Washington, who wanted an experienced officer in that capacity to assist in organizing his new army. Mr. Gates here displayed a duplicity that seemed to be uncalled for. By a letter of General Washington's, we know that Gates had written to him, (knowing his wish, and having received his request,) that he, Gates, would resume his former office of adjutant-general, and with alacrity and cheerfulness repair to Morristown. The commander-in-chief thanked him for this mark of his attention to a request of his, and told him that he looked upon his resumption of the office, as the only means of giving "form and regularity to our army." St. Clair was to be sent

to take command at Philadelphia. But Gates had no intention of complying with the request of Washington, but, on the contrary, was manœuvring with a party in congress to supersede Schuyler in the northern department. It was on the 10th of March, 1777, that Washington thanked Gates for complying with the wishes of congress, and appeared to be certain of his assistance as adjutant-general; on the 13th, Gates obtained an appointment for a conference with congress; and on the 25th, he received his orders from President Hancock to repair to Ticonderoga, and take the command of the army of that department. About this time, General Gates took into his family and attached to his interests a young man who was, by his extraordinary talents, a powerful agent in his future operations. This was Major John Armstrong, son to the general bearing that name. It was by attaching to himself those who had talents, like Armstrong, or family influence, like the Trumbulls, that this artful man strengthened himself and weakened those whose overthrow he contemplated. For it was soon notorious that the men known to be attached to Gates, could not be confided in by Washington, however much he might wish to employ them for the service of the country.

John. But Governor Trumbull was a good man and true patriot.

Un. And so was Samuel Adams, and perhaps others, who preferred Gates to Schuyler or Washington. Good men may be deceived. Other partisans of Gates were apparently influenced by base and selfish motives; but many were without doubt, honestly mistaken. About this time, another foreign officer arrived with such credentials as caused General Washington to recommend him to congress, and he became an auxiliary of Gates, and a source of trouble to the commander-in-chief.

John. Who was that, sir?

Un. An Irish gentleman of the name of Conway, who was a colonel in the French service. He was appointed by congress a brigadier-general. I shall be obliged to mention him again.

Wm. And General Schuyler, sir, where was he?

Un. This true patriot and most able general had endeavoured by his own exertions, and by his representations to congress and to Washington of the necessity for great exertions in the north, to meet the coming storm which he foresaw would sweep from Canada to New York by the lake. His exertions were effective, but his advice was too little attended to; and when, on the 20th of March, he went to Philadelphia, he found that he was superseded in his command of the north by General Gates, who received his orders to that effect on the 25th. Schuyler was not a man to sink under such a blow. He took his seat in congress as a delegate from New York, and requested a committee of inquiry into his military conduct. This resulted in complete approbation, and by a resolve of 22d May, he was directed to resume the command of the northern department.

John. His presence in congress probably silenced his enemies.

Un. Here is an extract from a letter written to Gates, early in May, which gives us a little insight. Read it; I copied it from the original manuscript.

John. "Those who *profess* well to our cause, judge and say that there is but one single man who can keep their subjects united against the common enemy."

Wm. What does that mean?

Un. It is a letter from James Lovell, a member of congress, and one of the Gates' cabal, and he speaks of the opinion of Schuyler's friends respect-

ing his influence over the people of New York. Read on.

John. "And that he stands on our books as commander-in-chief in the middle, or, as it is sometimes called, the northern department; that his presence is absolutely necessary in his home-quarters for their immediate succour and service, as well as that of the United States, necessarily connected; that if he returns, he is a general without an army or military chest, and 'why is he thus degraded?' How this matter will be untangled I cannot now exactly determine, but I suspect, not entirely agreeably to your *sentiments*."

Un. This letter was on the 1st of May; the resolution of the 22d "untangled" the matter. The resolution was in these words: "that Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, be henceforward considered as forming the northern department," and "that Major-general Schuyler be directed forthwith to proceed to the northern department, and take the command there." A previous order that Albany should be the head-quarters of that department, was repealed. During the debate on this subject, Lovell gives Gates information of the progress, and what is said. It was asserted that by ordering him to Ticonderoga, congress did not intend to supersede Schuyler in the command, and of course that Gates had usurped authority; and by fixing his head-quarters at Albany and issuing his orders from thence, had not conformed to the direction of congress, which required him to repair to "Ti." While this was pending in the national council, Gates sent on letters to his friends by another person who had hastily resigned his commission, which had been accepted; Mr. John Trumbull wrote from Philadelphia, on the 24th of May, 1777, thus; read the extract made from his manuscript letter.

John. "I arrived last Wednesday, and immediately delivered my letters, but too late; congress had already appointed General Schuyler to command in the northern department. Every possible opposition had been made by your friends, but in vain; the interest of the other party carried it—by a single vote, however. Congress are now endeavouring to devise some mode of retaining you in the service; they hope to persuade you to accept the adjutant-general's office, and are willing to comply with your own propositions. My brother writes you fully; as he has been on the spot, he knows the various manœuvres which have been performed on this occasion. I understand General Schuyler has appointed J. G. Frazer, esquire, to my late office."

Un. Gates had been prohibited from appointing this gentleman, in these words: "it is not the intention of congress that Mr. Trumbull should be re-appointed." On the same day, Samuel Adams wrote to Gates, saying, "I have not forgot you. I shall remember the last words you said to me; the bearer is able to tell you my whole meaning. I shall not be wanting." During this time, Gates, who had been sent on for the defence of Ticonderoga in March, is informed by Wilkinson, one of his aids, that there is at that post no preparations for defence, and requests him "to let Kosciusko come back with proper authority."

Wm. Was this the famous Kosciusko, sir?

Un. Yes; then a young man, and employed as an engineer in the north. General Gates had a son at this time nearly of age, and residing with Mrs. Gates in Virginia. He wrote to his father, conjuring him to leave the service of the congress, "a body that neither rewards officers according to their merit, or has firmness to stand by even its own

decrees." "Mamma says she approves highly of your letter to the president; but if you give up one iota, and condescend to be adjutant-general, (as that is plainly the scheme,) she may forgive it, but never will forget it."

John. What dreadful heart-burnings and jealousies there appears to have been!

Un. While these intrigues were going on, General Schuyler exerted himself in providing for the defence of the Delaware; but being ordered to the north, flew to prepare for repelling the storm that threatened his native state. On the 6th of June, he informed Gates that he was "again" appointed to command the army in the northern department. Full of wrath, and meditating revenge, the English officer repaired to Philadelphia, and Joseph Trumbull congratulates him, by letter, on his arrival. Arthur St. Clair, who had been left in command at Ticonderoga, congratulated Gates, by letter, that he had escaped from that place; "though," he says, "I am sensible how much more capable you are to seize the advantages that may present themselves." He says, he has only "captivity or death" before his eyes.

John. A general with such feelings is not likely to resist an enemy.

Un. Another son of Governor Trumbull's, in answer to a letter of Gates' upon his retiring from the north, exclaims—"Righteous God! of what higher crimes, more than others, are we guilty in this department, that we are thus exposed to thy severest punishments?" "May Heaven ever bless you, my dear general." This was from the paymaster-general, and written when St. Clair had avoided captivity or death, by retreat from Ticonderoga. Schuyler found that "literally nothing" had been done during his absence to improve the means of defence on the

frontiers; but, as Chancellor Kent observes, he was, "fortunately, in this season in good health, a blessing which he had not enjoyed the last two years. He now displayed his activity, fervour, and energy in a brilliant manner. General St. Clair was placed by him in the command at Ticonderoga, and specially directed to fortify Mount Independence. He informed congress, on the 14th of June, that considering the extensiveness of the works at Ticonderoga, the smallness of the garrison was alarming, and incompetent to maintain it, and that he found the department in the greatest confusion. Application was made to the eastern states to hasten on the remainder of their troops; and he informed them that the garrison at Ticonderoga did not then exceed two thousand two hundred men, sick included. On the 16th of June, General Washington was apprized by him of the fact that he had no troops to oppose Sir John Johnson on the Mohawk. He visited Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 20th, and found them not in a good state of defence, and very deficient in troops and provisions; but it was resolved, at a council of officers called by him, that they be defended as long as possible. General Schuyler then hastened back to the Hudson, the more effectually to provide for the garrison re-enforcements of provisions and men, and nothing conducive to that great object was omitted. He solicited re-enforcements of every kind with intense anxiety. On the 28th of June, he communicated by expresses to General Washington, to the governor of Connecticut, to the president of Massachusetts, to the committee of Berkshire, and to the committee of safety of New York, his apprehensions for the safety of the garrison at Ticonderoga, from the inadequacy of the means of defence. On the 28th and 30th of June, (for dates now become important,) he en-

couraged St. Clair, that he should move up with the continental troops and militia, as soon as he could possibly put them in motion, and 'he hoped to have the pleasure of seeing him in possession of his post.' So again on the 5th of July, he assured him the troops from Peekskill and the militia were in motion, and 'he hoped to see him in a day or two.' On the 7th, he informed General Washington, by letter, that he was up as far as Saratoga, with about seven hundred continental troops, and about one thousand four hundred militia. He was then in the utmost distress for provisions, and he then and there met the news, that General St. Clair had abandoned Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 6th, with the loss of all his military equipments."

"The last scene of General Schuyler's military life, was full of action befitting the occasion, and worthy of his character. Every quarter of his department was replete with difficulty and danger. The frontier on the Mohawk was menaced by an army of one thousand and six hundred regulars, Tories, and Indians, under Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, and he cheered and encouraged Brigadier-general Herkimer to rouse the militia, and act with alacrity in defence of that frontier. He addressed the civil and military authorities in every direction, with manly firmness, and the most forcible exhortation to assist him with men, arms, and provisions; 'every militiaman,' he said, 'ought to turn out without delay, in a crisis the most alarming since the contest began.' He directed that the inhabitants retire from before the enemy, and that every article be brought off or destroyed, that was calculated to assist them—that the roads, causeways, and Wood creek be rendered impassable. He issued a proclamation to encourage the country, and counteract

that of Burgoyne. He assured General Washington, on the 12th of July, that he should retard the enemy's advance by all possible means. 'If my countrymen will support me with vigour and dexterity, and do not meanly despond, we shall be able to prevent the enemy from penetrating much farther into the country.' "

John. He had an arduous task to perform, sir.

Un. And he met his difficulties manfully. With a force of four thousand five hundred men, regulars and militia, he had to encounter or impede the progress of six thousand of the finest troops of Europe, with equipments and artillery equal to their discipline. Read that further extract from the memoir I have before quoted.

Wm. "Fort George was abandoned on the 14th of July, for it was utterly indefensible, being only part of an unfinished bastion holding one hundred and fifty men. On the 24th July, Schuyler retired with his army to Moore's creek, four miles below Fort Edward, as the latter was only a heap of ruins, and always commanded by the neighbouring hills. The enemy kept pressing upon his advanced posts, but in the midst of unparalleled difficulties, his retreat was slow and safe, and every inch of ground disputed. The distress of the army, in want of artillery and every other military and comfortable equipment, was aggravated by despondency and sickness, and the restlessness and insubordination of the militia. They could not be detained. Almost all the eastern militia had left the army. By the advice of a council of general officers, Schuyler was obliged to let one half of the militia go home under a promise of the residue to continue for three weeks. Though the subject of popular calumny, he did not in the least despond or shrink from his duty. 'I shall go on,' he writes to General Washington, 'in

doing my duty, and in endeavours to deserve your esteem.' He renewed his call on the eastern states for assistance, and told his friend, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, (whom he always mentioned with the highest esteem, and between whom a mutual confidence and attachment had invariably subsisted,) that 'if the eastern militia did not turn out with spirit, and behave better, we should be ruined.' The greatest reliance was placed on the efforts of his own more immediate countrymen, and his most pathetick and eloquent appeals were made to the council of safety of the state of New York for succours to enable him to meet the enemy in the field. By the beginning of August he was preparing to act on the offensive, and by his orders of the 30th of July and 13th of August, General Lincoln was directed to move with a body of troops to the north of Cambridge, towards Skeensborough, and take command of the troops under General Stark, and Colonel Warner, who had orders to join him; and if he should have force enough, to fall on the enemy in that quarter. As Burgoyne advanced down the Hudson, there was constant skirmishing at the advanced posts, and General Schuyler retreated slowly and in good order down to Saratoga, and then to and below Stillwater, and in every instance by the unanimous advice of his officers.

"During this eventful period, the western branch of Schuyler's military district was in the utmost consternation and peril. The army under St. Leger had besieged Fort Stanwix, and General Herkimer, with eight hundred of the frontier militia, marching to the relief of the fortress, was attacked by a detachment of the enemy, under Sir John Johnson, and defeated at Oriskany, on the 6th of August. On the 16th, General Schuyler despatched Arnold with three regiments, amounting in the whole only to

five hundred and fifty men, to take charge of the military operations on the Mohawk.

“But the period of his eminent services was drawing to a close. Congress, yielding to the clamour and calumny of the people and militia of the eastern states, suspended General Schuyler’s command, and on the 19th of August, (three days after the victory at Bennington,) General Gates arrived in camp, and superseded him. General Schuyler felt acutely the discredit of being recalled in the most critical period of the campaign, and after the labour and activity of making preparations to repair the disasters of it, had been expended by him, and when he was in vigorous preparation to win, and almost in the act to place the laurels of victory on his brow. ‘I am sensible,’ said this great and injured man, in his letter to congress, ‘of the indignity of being ordered from the command of an army, at a time when an engagement must soon take place;’ and when, we may add, he had already commenced offensive operations, and laid the foundation of future and glorious triumphs.”

John. It appears then that the affairs on the Mohawk, and at Bennington, took place while Schuyler commanded: the spirits of the people were re-animating, and the yeomanry of the country collecting with a force and spirit that made the fate of the invader inevitable.

Un. Just so. In fact, Burgoyne was already “Burgoynded,” before Gates superseded Schuyler.

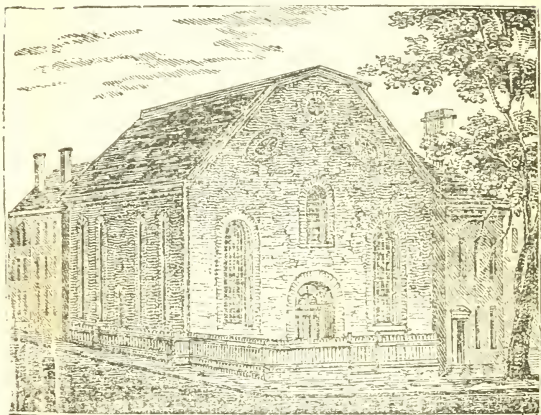
Wm. Will you not tell us something of those battles in our native state, sir?

Un. When we meet again. We have had enough of evil passions, jealousies, intrigues, and bloodshed for the present. I am afraid the history of man for a long time to come will be little else than a record of follies and crimes.

John. Will it ever be otherwise, sir?

Un. We are promised a reign of a different nature; it will assuredly arrive at the appointed time.

CHAPTER XVI.



Un. In our last walk we passed the old German Lutheran church, in the swamp, at the corner of Frankfort street, and you asked me some questions respecting it which I was not then prepared to answer. Here is a picture of it. From a memoir in the New York Mirror, communicated by the Rev. Dr. F. W. Geissenhaimer, we learn that this venerable edifice was erected by the German Lutheran congregation in the years 1766-7. Six years before, it is recorded that a few houses had begun to be built on "that part of the highroad to Boston which

leads towards 'Fresh Water,' extending from Broadway to the place where the negroes were burnt, in 1741, and to which the gallows has lately been removed;" this road then began to be regulated as a street. The swamp, near this church, was literally what its name denotes. The Baptist church in Gold street, was erected six years before the German Lutheran church. During the war, this last-mentioned church was spared in compliment to the Hessians, whose regimental chaplains officiated as pastors. The Hessian officers were interred in this cemetery, and several have since been disinterred in full military costume, with their side-arms, cocked hats, and boots.

John. Was this customary, sir?

Un. It so appears.

Wm. You promised us an account of the battles on the Mohawk and at Bennington.

Un. You delight too much in battles; but you are, unfortunately, not singular: and the general reading of the world seems calculated to encourage the propensity to strife. But I will perform my promise. General Burgoyne first threw out from the main body of his army a detachment under Colonel St. Leger, to his right, to attack Fort Stanwix, and afterward another, on his left, into Vermont. The first was composed of Germans, Canadians, English, and Indians, about eighteen hundred, who were thought sufficient to take the fort and then fall down upon the Mohawk settlements towards Albany. General Herkimer marched with a body of militia to support Fort Stanwix, and had arrived within five or six miles of that post when he learned that Sir John Johnson, with his savages, had been sent by St. Leger to intercept his force, not consisting of more than eight hundred undisciplined men. The strife that ensued is called the battle of Oriskany, and the

field is pointed out between Utica and Rome. At the first fire of the enemy, many of the militia were killed, and some fled; but Herkimer and a brave band sustained the fight, even hand to hand; and the Indians, being worsted, are said to have conceived that the British had betrayed them, and in their rage killed their friends, making the confusion of a contest carried on with knives, muskets, bayonets, and tomahawks, in close fight, or from behind logs and trees, more awful. Sir John and his party retreated, and carried off the slain, and several prisoners. Herkimer expired on the field, which was strewn with one hundred and sixty Americans killed, and a greater number wounded. The deposition of a very respectable gentleman who was in this fight, is so interesting that I must give it to you in an abstract from Campbell's Annals of Tryon county. Read it, William.

Wm. "Moses Younglove states, on oath, that towards the last of the battle of Oriskany he surrendered to an Indian, who delivered him to a sergeant of Sir John Johnson's regiment, when several tories came up, and one prepared to tomahawk him, but others prevented. The tories stript him of watch, buckles, and finally almost all his clothes. He saw around him on every side prisoners murdered and stript. When brought before Butler he abused him, and said if the Indians did not kill him he should be hanged as a rebel. That the Indians were instigated by the tories to murder the prisoners, and did it by direction of Johnson's officers, even after they were put under the provost's guard." And Fort Stanwix, sir?

Un. The fort was bravely defended, although the garrison was weak. Scarce had St. Leger sent off the Indians and tories to meet Herkimer, when Colonel Marinus Willet of our city—

Wm. I remember him, sir; he was one of the Sons of Liberty.

Un. Even so. He made a sortie, and falling upon the enemy's camp, drove them off, and carried back a quantity of arms and stores. The English rallied, and attempted to prevent his return to the fort, but he charged them and carried off his booty in triumph.

John. Did he command the fort, sir?

Un. No. Colonel Gansevoort, an equally deserving officer, was the commander; and he finding that the enemy increased around him by bringing on more savages, was anxious to call upon the country below for relief. Colonel Willet and Lieutenant Stockwell undertook the hazardous enterprise of passing through the surrounding host of savages and other rangers, now made watchful by the previous attacks; and these gallant gentlemen, both skilled in Indian warfare, crept on their hands and knees through the enemy's camp, eluding even the keen senses of the savage warriors, and arrived safe at the head-quarters of General Schuyler.

Wm. He would send them relief!

Un. He immediately despatched Arnold with a body of men, but the fort was relieved before that general reached it. The Reverend Doctor Dwight, in his Travels, tells the story thus. Read the extract I have made for you.

Wm. "As Arnold was advancing up the Mohawk, a fellow who was a tory, and accused of being a spy, was brought into his camp. After examining the circumstances, Arnold wisely determined to avail himself of this man's services. He proposed to him a scheme for alarming the enemy, particularly the savages, by announcing to them, that a formidable army was in full march to destroy them; and assured him of his life, and estate, if he

would enter heartily into the interests of his country, and faithfully execute a mission of this nature. The spy, who was shrewd, resolute, versed in the language and manners of the Indians, acquainted with some of their chiefs, and therefore perfectly qualified for this business, readily engaged in the enterprise.

“Colonel St. Leger had pushed the siege with considerable activity; and advanced his works within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort. Upon the spy’s arrival, he told a lamentable story of his being taken by Arnold, his escape from hanging, and the danger which he had encountered in his flight; and declared at the same time that a formidable army of Americans was marching with full speed to attack the British. The Americans, he observed, had no hostility towards the Indians, and wished not to injure them; but added, that, if the Indians continued with the British, they must unquestionably take their share of whatever calamities might befall their allies.

“The Indians being thus thoroughly alarmed, a friendly chief, who was in the secret, arrived, as if by mere accident; and in the mysterious manner of that people began to insinuate to his countrymen, that a bird had brought him intelligence, of great moment. This hint set their curiosity afloat; and excited a series of anxious inquiries. To these he replied in hints, and suggestions, concerning warriors in great numbers, marching with the utmost rapidity, and already far advanced. The Indians, already disgusted with the service, which they found a mere contrast to the promises of the British commanders, and their own expectations, and sore with the loss which they had sustained in the battle with General Herkimer, were now so completely alarmed, that they determined upon an immediate retreat.

“St. Leger, who had unwisely boasted, at first, of his own strength, and his future exploits against the Americans, and spoken contemptuously of their weakness and cowardice; who had predicted in magnificent terms the certainty of their flight; and the ease, and safety, with which the Indians would reach Albany; had disgusted these people thoroughly by failing altogether of the fulfilment of his promises. In vain, therefore, did he exert all his address, when he saw them preparing to quit the ground, to dissuade them from their purpose. He exhorted, argued, and promised, in vain. They reproached him with having violated all his former promises; and pronounced him undeserving of any further confidence. He attempted to get them drunk; but they refused to drink. When he found all his efforts fruitless, and saw that they were determined to go, he urged them to move in the rear of his army; but they charged him with a design to sacrifice them for his own safety. In a mixture of rage and despair, he broke up his encampment with such haste, that he left his tents, cannon, and stores, to the besieged.”

Wm. This was great!

Un. Thus was Burgoyne's *right* arm withered; and the *left*, which he had stretched as far as Bennington, was arrested by our old friend, Starke, of Bunker hill memory, who had been roused by the calls of General Schuyler.

John. I believe the detachment sent by Burgoyne into Vermont was composed of Hessians.

Un. Principally; and under the command of a Hessian officer, Colonel Baum. The intention of Burgoyne was to seize the stores accumulated at Bennington, and prevent re-enforcements arriving to Schuyler; and with a corps of tories and Indians united to the expedition, Baum was instructed to

scour the country, get horses for Reidesel's dragoons, lay the towns under contribution, and above all, to bring off all the horses, at least thirteen hundred, which were directed "to be tied in strings of ten each," in order that one man might lead ten horses. So secure did Burgoyne feel that his successes and proclamation had overawed the country. Read that letter of Starke's, which I copied from his own handwriting. I think it the most perfect account of Bennington battle, and the best comment on Burgoyne's instructions to Colonel Baum.

Wm. "On the 13th instant, I was informed that there was a party of Indians at Cambridge on their march to this place, (Bennington.) I sent Lieutenant-colonel Greg of my brigade to stop them, with two hundred men. In the night I was informed, by express, that there was a large body of the enemy on their march in the rear of the Indians. I rallied all my brigade, and what militia was at this place, in order to stop their proceedings. I likewise sent to Manchester to Colonel Warner's regiment, that was stationed there: likewise sent expresses for the militia to come in with all speed to our assistance, which was punctually obeyed. I then marched in company with Colonels Warner, Williams, Herick, and Brush, with all the men that were present. About five miles from this place I met Colonel Greg on his retreat, and the enemy in close pursuit after him. I drew up my little army in order of battle; but when the enemy hove in sight they halted on a very advantageous hill or piece of ground. I sent out small parties in their front to skirmish with them, which scheme had a good effect; they killed and wounded thirty of them without any loss on our side. But the ground that I was upon did not suit for a general action. I marched back about one mile, and encamped; called a council, and it was

agreed we should send two detachments in their rear, while the others attacked them in front; but the 15th rained all day; therefore had to lay by, could do nothing but skirmish with them. On the 16th, in the morning, was joined by Colonel Simons, with some militia from Berkshire county. I pursued my plan, and detached Colonel Nichols with two hundred men to attack in the rear. I also sent Colonel Herrick, with three hundred men, in the rear of their right, both to join, and when joined to attack their rear. I likewise sent the Colonels Hubbard and Stickney with two hundred men in their right, and sent one hundred men in their front to draw away their attention that way; and about three o'clock we got all ready for the attack. Colonel Nichols began the same, which was followed by all the rest of those that were detached. The remainder of my little army I pushed up in the front, and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted two hours, the hottest I ever saw in my life—it represented one continued clap of thunder; however, the enemy was obliged to give way, and leave their field-pieces and all their baggage behind them. They were all environed within two breastworks with their artillery."

John. And from these works, and from their cannon, did these rustick soldiers, with musketry alone, drive veteran and disciplined troops?

Un. From what follows, it appears that after this two hours fighting, the ranks of General Starke were somewhat out of order. Read on.

Wm. "I then gave orders to rally again, to secure the victory: but in a few moments was informed there was a large re-enforcement on their march, within two miles of us."

Un. Meaning a re-enforcement to the enemy.

Wm. "Luckily for us, that moment Colonel

Warner's regiment came up fresh, who marched on and began the attack anew. I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance. The battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset; the enemy was obliged to retreat; we pursued them till dark: but had daylight lasted one hour longer, we should have taken the whole body of them. We recovered four pieces of brass cannon, some hundred stands of arms, and brass barrelled drums, several Hessian swords, about seven hundred prisoners, two hundred and seven dead on the spot; the number of wounded is yet unknown. That part of the enemy that made their escape, marched all night. We returned to our camp."

John. Well tired, poor fellows, with a hard day's work in August.

Un. He then praises his companions, who "fought through fire and smoke; mounted two breastworks that were well fortified and supplied with cannon;" praises Colonel Warner particularly, and concludes with a statement of his loss—forty wounded, and thirty killed. This victory raised the spirits of the whole country, and, with the failure of St. Leger, crippled and arrested Burgoyne. One of the English ministry said, that he did not despair of the expedition until he heard of the battle of Bennington.

John. Both these successes were under the auspices and during the command of General Schuyler.

Un. But Gates arrived on the 19th, in time to receive Starke's report of the battle, and the congratulations of all his partisans: nay, the country generally, attributed every success to him; and all the previous retrograde movements were ascribed to want of skill or courage in the man who, by his foresight, exertion, perseverance, and firmness, had already stopped the progress of the enemy, and prepared the victory for his rival.

Wm. Now, Uncle, you must give us the last battle—*that* of Saratoga.

Un. There were several actions: but I must introduce you to a hero you have not yet heard of—Daniel Morgan of New Jersey.

Wm. All the New Jersey folks belong to us.

Un. How so?

Wm. Because *Neuw Nederlandts* by right extended from Connecticut river to the Delaware.

Un. So then we are all New Yorkers, whether born in Vermont or New Jersey, New York or Western Connecticut; but we will give up that claim and assert a better. We are all countrymen; because native citizens of the free and independent United States of America—one great federal republick. But we now must speak of a time when there was less union, and that little threatened by a powerful enemy. Daniel Morgan was born in New Jersey, in the year 1736. He was a man of gigantick proportions, and athletick beyond most men. Of humble parentage, he had little school education, and early in life went to Virginia to “seek his fortune.” He was at Monongahela with Braddock, Washington, and Gates, but probably unknown to either. In the humble station of a wagoner attendant upon the army, young Morgan was, on a charge of contumacy to a British officer, tied up, and tortured, mind and body, by five hundred lashes on the naked back. The youth bore this disgraceful infliction in a manner that marked an intellect as powerful as his body was strong. He knew it was unjust, and, in a few days, the officer acknowledged that he had wronged the young provincial, and made an apology. Morgan might forgive, but such humiliating treatment could not be forgotten; and when in after life he led his riflemen into action, he might perhaps remember the red-coated officer that ordered, and the red-coated drummer

that inflicted, five hundred gashes on his quivering flesh. He afterward served under Colonel George Washington in the war on the Virginia frontier, and experienced the horrors of Indian warfare in the provincial service. Before the commencement of the dispute with England, Morgan became a man of property, and owned a plantation in Frederick county. Immediately on the news of hostilities he was appointed a captain, and his character for courage and unrivalled prowess gained him a full complement of choice spirits. This company was the nucleus of the celebrated corps that carried confidence to friends, and terror to the enemy, throughout the revolutionary war. He was with Arnold in the unparalleled march through the wilderness to Quebec—led the van in the assault on that fortress—he was a victor, and in the town, when the death of Montgomery consigned him and his companions to captivity. After being exchanged, he was appointed a colonel, and his rifle corps was the efficient right-hand of the American army. Although the commander-in-chief could ill spare such an officer, and a regiment dreaded by the foe, he, in August, 1777, sent Morgan and his riflemen to the support of Gates and the northern army. It is matter of general history, that in every battle that preceded the surrender of the English army, Morgan and his corps were conspicuous, and the enemy acknowledged that their defeat was in a great measure owing to the deadly rifles and their undaunted leader.

Wm. But, Uncle, do tell us more particulars of the battle of Saratoga, because you know it belongs to New York history.

Un. So it does, boy. General Gates had superseded Schuyler, by a majority in congress who consulted the jealousies of New England rather than the dictates of wisdom or justice; a majority, under

the influence of those who shortly after endeavoured to place this incompetent foreign officer in the command filled by Washington. Soon after this, a young lady of the name of McCrea, was murdered by two of the Indians attached to Burgoyne's army.

John. Was it not wrong, sir, in the English, to employ Indians?

Un. Not more in them, than in the French, and in our own people; except, that, in my opinion, the warfare of Britain against America was wrong, and in self-defence America might have been justified in employing savages against the invaders of her rights and her property. The most atrocious acts committed by the savages were under the direction of Sir John Johnson and Colonel St. Leger—these individuals must bear the reproach.

John. Who was Miss McCrea, sir?

Un. It appears that she was the daughter of a clergyman, deceased; and had been engaged to a young man in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, who had joined the English in their attack upon his country, and received a subaltern's commission. Advancing at this time with the enemy, he had notified his intended bride that he would send a party to bring her off, (the house at which she resided being within the American posts.) Accordingly she was prepared, and the party sent for this purpose being Indians, attacked the American picket by surprise, killed the officer, Lieutenant Van Vechten, and several others, and while they were in the intoxication of blood and savage triumph, scalping the dead and wounded, the young lady and a female friend joined them. Two chiefs carried her off, as directed by her intended husband; but each coveting the promised reward, they quarrelled, and in the struggle for the possession of the prize, as one drew her (now, affrighted, kneeling and imploring) to him,

the other seized her by her long dishevelled hair and buried his tomahawk in her brain. Her scalp was borne off to meet her bridegroom. As this is an interesting subject, and one of the examples of the horrors of war, and especially war in which savages are left to follow the dictates of uncontrolled passion, I have procured a picture of the event to impress it on your minds, and could wish that it might disgust you, and make you abhor all scenes of strife, battle, bloodshed, and murder. For it is not alone the Indian that commits these atrocious acts: the European soldier—the civilized man, the man calling himself Christian—sacks cities, burns villages, murders females and aged men; and it is called glorious war! and the actors are denominated heroes.



John. It is an impressive picture, sir.

Un. Well designed by Mr. Brown, and engraved by Mr. Hooper.

John. Did General Gates notice this transaction?

Un. Gates wrote an insolent letter to the English commander, misstating the fact, and accusing that officer (whom he sneeringly calls "the famous Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, in whom the fine gentleman is united with the soldier and the scholar") with hiring "the savages of America to scalp Europeans and their descendants;" and says, the bride, dressed to receive her promised husband, "met her murderer, employed by you." To this the answer of Burgoyne was, though indignant, that of a gentleman and a scholar. But I must go to the battle, I suppose.

Wm. O yes, sir!

Un. We have seen that St. Leger and his savages had been discomfited, and that the Hessians had been beaten and routed by the veteran Starke, under the auspices of Schuyler. We have seen him divested of command when his army was increasing, his enemy's diminishing, and the American force taking ground to face, with every prospect of success, their hitherto triumphant adversary. Morgan with his riflemen, Arnold with the force which had been detached up the Mohawk, all the continental troops destined for the northern department, and large bodies of militia, joined the army now under Gates. Burgoyne seems to have been reduced to the necessity of deciding the contest by a general engagement, and on the 13th and 14th of September, he crossed the Hudson, and encamped at Saratoga. On the morning of the 19th, the English advanced in full force towards the American left. Morgan was despatched to meet them, and drove in their pickets, but was by the main body forced, in his turn, to retire. Two regiments advanced to his support; and

the Americans forming in a wood, again and again repulsed the advancing enemy, and in turn, when pushing forward, were obliged to retreat. In this conflict, which lasted all day, three thousand of our troops encountered the whole right wing of the British army, commanded by Burgoyne in person. The most distinguished officer of the Americans engaged that day was Daniel Morgan. The British claimed the victory, and lay that night on their arms near the field of battle. The Americans, who had been engaged, retired at night to their camp, convinced that they could cope with their enemies on equal terms, if not beat them. The loss on each side was probably much the same.

Wm. But we beat them, sir; for they were advancing, and Colonel Morgan stopped them.

Un. The advantage, I believe, was with us. Certainly this rencounter inspirited the army, and brought in militia from all quarters. General Lincoln, who joined Starke after the battle of Bennington, fell into the rear of Burgoyne, and pushed three detachments against the posts Burgoyne had left behind, most of which fell, and added to the prospect of complete success; although Ticonderoga and Mount Independence repulsed their assailants.

Wm. But there was another battle, sir.

Un. All in good time. General Burgoyne took a position almost within cannon shot of our camp; fortified his right wing, and rested with his left upon the Hudson. Thus the two armies remained until the 7th of October: Burgoyne in the hope of aid from below, where he knew by advice from Clinton that he was advancing; and Gates receiving additional troops every day; but he had by some slights disgusted Arnold, who wrote to him on the 1st of October, saying, that notwithstanding his conviction that the treatment he had received proceeded from

"a spirit of jealousy," he should sacrifice his feelings and continue his exertions; and notwithstanding he had not been consulted, he shall do his duty by informing him that "the army are clamorous for action, and that the militia threaten to go home." After the indecisive action of the 19th of September, Gates sent one of his aids, Major Troup, to congress, with an account of what is called "the repulse" of the enemy.

John. General Gates had several aids-de-camp, I presume, sir.

Un. He had, and displayed judgment in selecting them. Wilkinson was at this time his adjutant-general, and efficient aid; although a vain man, he was a brave and very active officer. From congress the general received complimentary resolves, and from one of the members, James Lovell, a letter containing expressions which show the progress of the cabal against the commander-in-chief. He says, if Gates would allow Burgoyne leisure, he might write a farce "at the expense of congress at least, if not of congress and General Washington." He intimates that people say Howe would not have advanced seventy miles from his ships if Gates had been in his neighbourhood; and concludes with this curious paragraph—"By the winter, the middle army will be divided into Greenites and Mifflinites, if things do not take a great turn from their present situation."

John. What is meant, sir?

Un. Mifflin was inimical to Washington: Greene was the commander's friend. During this pause in the action of the opposing armies at the north, the British had pushed up the North river, and notwithstanding a most gallant defence of Fort Montgomery, made by a very inadequate force, under the two brothers, George and James Clinton, the place was taken. The English General Clinton sent de-

spatches by a spy to Burgoyne, with the intelligence of this success, and a letter enclosed in a silver bullet, saying, "*Nous y voici*, (behold us here,) and nothing between us but Gates." The spy was apprehended, and swallowed the bullet to prevent detection, but the poor wretch was obliged to disgorge it by a dose of tartar emetick; Burgoyne did not receive the intelligence, and the spy suffered on the gallows.

Phil. Do you believe the story of the bullet, sir?

Un. Yes. Governor Clinton, who commanded at the post, told me the circumstance, and showed me the hollow ball.

Wm. But the great battle, sir?

Un. Not hearing from Sir Henry, and his provisions almost expended, the British general was reduced to the necessity of trying to beat his adversary without aid. He advanced with his right wing upon the American camp, and displayed some rangers and Indians in their rear, who had been guided by secret paths for the purpose of exciting alarm in that quarter. Gates intended to await the enemy in his lines, which would have given Burgoyne the advantage he anticipated; but Arnold, without orders, advanced and made an attack upon their left wing in front, while Morgan made a circuit, unperceived, and seized a very advantageous woody height on their right. Arnold's charge was made in front and on the British left, while Morgan's riflemen poured in a deadly fire on the right wing in front, and on the flank. While thus pressed, Burgoyne perceived that a division of the Americans was moving to intercept the retreat of his right wing to his camp, and ordered General Frazer to cover that wing and secure their retrograde movement. Frazer was opposed by the riflemen of the indefatigable Morgan, and was mortally wounded. With great

difficulty, and with the loss of his field-pieces and artillerists, Burgoyne regained his camp, the lines of which were assaulted in their whole extent. Arnold entered with a few men, and was only stopped in his career by the loss of his horse and by the wounds he had received. Another portion of Arnold's division turned the right of the British encampment, and carried by storm the works occupied by the German corps de reserve, killing their commander, and keeping possession. Darkness put an end to the scene of strife and blood. The Americans had obtained a decisive victory, taken several cannon, made upwards of two hundred prisoners, many of them officers of distinction, and killed a great number of the invaders. In the night Burgoyne drew off his army, and placed them in a stronger position on the heights, nearer to the source of the river; thus avoiding an engagement with an enemy who possessed part of his works, and lay ready to renew the attack in the morning.

Wm. Well, we have beat them at last! But Morgan and Arnold seem to be the fighting men.

Un. All were now animated by success. Next day, General Gates threw large detachments higher up the river to oppose the retreat of the enemy; but did not venture to attack him in his new position. Burgoyne, however, was obliged to abandon the strong post he had chosen. On the night of the 10th of October, he retreated to Saratoga with the loss of his hospital, and part of his baggage and provision. He gained a position on the bank of the Hudson, but found his antagonists already on the opposite side prepared to dispute his passage. The British army was now surrounded by a constantly increasing, and already numerically superiour force, flushed with victory, and anticipating complete conquest. All these advantages were nearly lost. On

the morning of the 11th, Gates informed his general officers of his having received certain intelligence that the main body of the British army had been marched off for Fort Edward; and that only the rear guard was now in the camp, who were to follow, leaving the heavy baggage behind. In consequence, orders were issued to attack the camp forthwith; and the officers repaired to their posts accordingly. The oldest brigade crossed the Saratoga creek, and a second brigade was following, when, by the accidental encounter of an English deserter, General Glover learned that the whole army were in the encampment, and he found that the American troops were marching directly upon Burgoyne's park of artillery, masked by a line of brushwood. The advancing troops were halted; Gates countermanded his orders, and the brave men so nearly sacrificed, retreated; but not without loss from the fire opened upon them by the enemy's batteries. It was on this occasion that the British burnt Schuyler's house, mills, and other buildings, as they sheltered the Americans from the artillery. Burgoyne's situation was now nearly desperate. His Indians and Canadians had deserted him. He had no hopes of aid from Sir Henry Clinton. His gallant army was reduced from nearly eight thousand, to three thousand five hundred fighting men. He was surrounded by enemies increasing daily, and already four times his number. Of provisions he had not more than enough for three days. Thus circumstanced, he resolved to abandon every thing but the arms of his companions, and such food as they could carry on their backs, and to force a march up the river by night, cross, and push for Fort George. But even this was found impracticable. Every avenue of escape was guarded. He was obliged to open a treaty with

Gates, which terminated in surrender, by a convention.

John. And would not this have happened, sir, if Schuyler had remained in the command?

Un. I sincerely believe that as much would have been gained, or more. Schuyler would have had the same Morgan and Arnold to assist him. The militia were already encouraged by the success of Starke, Willet, and Gansevoort; and the jealousy of the New England men would not have prevented them from defending their firesides, or sharing in the triumphs, a prospect of which was fully open to them before Philip Schuyler was superseded by a man immeasurably his inferiour. But a British army surrendered to Horatio Gates, and the whole continent rang with shouts and songs of praise to the conqueror of Burgoyne. Schuyler was forgotten, or vilified; and in comparison with the triumphant Englishman, Washington was considered unworthy of confidence. Such was popular delusion, heightened by the artful and selfish.

John. Were the terms of convention honourable to the vanquished?

Un. They were. The British were allowed to march out of their encampment with the honours of war, and lay down their arms; having agreed not to serve against the United States until exchanged. In the mean while, they were to be permitted to embark for England. Burgoyne received intelligence of the success of Sir Henry Clinton at forts Montgomery and Clinton, after he had surrendered. Sir Henry soon learned the fate of Burgoyne; and having destroyed several continental ships and galleys, and burnt some defenceless villages and stores, he returned to New York; where, I think, it is time for us to follow.

Wm. Where was General Schuyler, sir, when Burgoyne surrendered?

Un. Although he had no command, he had never ceased his services, and was with the American army. Read that extract from the Parliamentary Register. Let General Burgoyne tell where Schuyler was.

Wm. "I positively assert that there was no fire by order or countenance of myself or any other officer, except at Saratoga. That district is the property of General Schuyler. There were large barracks built by him: they took fire by accident, when filled with my sick and wounded soldiers. General Schuyler had likewise a very good dwelling-house, exceeding large storehouses, great saw-mills, and other out-buildings, to the value, perhaps, of ten thousand pounds. A few days before the negotiation with General Gates, the enemy were approaching to pass a small river preparatory to a general action, and were covered from the fire of my artillery by those buildings. I gave the order to set them on fire: that whole property I have described was consumed. One of the first persons I saw after the convention was signed, was General Schuyler. I expressed my regret at the event which had happened, and the reasons which had occasioned it. He desired me to think no more of it; said that the occasion justified it, according to the rules and principles of war, and he should have done the same. He did more—he sent an aid-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expressed, to procure me better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, introduced me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family; and in this general's house I remained during my whole stay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and

my friends, and every other demonstration of hospitality."

John. This was noble, sir! Was it not?

Un. It was returning good for evil. Now hear what the Baroness de Reidesel says of her reception at the American encampment. Read these extracts from her letters and memoirs.

Wm. "When I drew near the tent, a good-looking man advanced towards me, and helped the children from the calash, and kissed and caressed them; he then offered me his arm, and tears trembled in his eyes. 'You tremble,' said he; 'do not be alarmed, I pray you.' 'Sir,' cried I, 'a countenance so expressive of benevolence, and the kindness which you have evinced towards my children, are sufficient to dispel all apprehension.' He then ushered me into the tent of General Gates. The gentleman who had received me with so much kindness, came and said to me, 'You may find it embarrassing to be the only lady in such a large company of gentlemen; will you come with your children to my tent, and partake of a frugal dinner offered with the best will?' 'By the kindness you show to me,' returned I, 'you induce me to believe that you have a wife and children.' He informed me that he was General Schuyler. Never did a dinner give me so much pleasure as this."

John. As polite as he was benevolent!

Un. The truly benevolent are always polite: genuine politeness is from the heart. It neither wheedles nor flatters. The unfortunate are the first to receive its attentions. This lady and her children were invited to the house of the superseded general. She says, "the reception which we met with from General Schuyler, his wife, and daughters, was not like the reception of enemies, but of the most intimate friends; they behaved in the same manner to-

wards General Burgoyne, though he had ordered their splendid establishment to be burnt. But all their actions proved that at the sight of the misfortunes of others, they quickly forgot their own."

Why, boys! what are you crying for?

Wm. I can't help it, sir.

John. And this is the man accused of stopping letters and commissions; and of being willing that Montgomery should be "knocked on the head," provided the money chest remained in his possession!

Un. Wipe your eyes, and we will go out for fresh air and exercise.

Wm. But, Uncle, where were Arnold and Morgan?

Un. Arnold was at this time disabled by the wound received when he carried the works of Burgoyne; Morgan was justly displeased that he was not mentioned in the despatches which Gates sent to congress.

John. Perhaps he commended him to the commander-in-chief.

Un. To him he did not send any advices of his success; but was carrying on a correspondence with his Irish friend Conway, in which Washington was treated with contempt. This slight put upon Washington was premeditated, as is proved by a letter from Wilkinson to Gates, of November 4th, saying that he is often asked the cause of this omission. It is farther related, respecting Morgan, that when the conqueror entertained the British officers who were prisoners, and invited his own to meet them, Morgan was omitted; but accidentally coming into the general's quarters on business, when he departed, his name was mentioned, and all the Britons eagerly rose and followed to see the man to whom they attributed, in a great measure, their defeat.

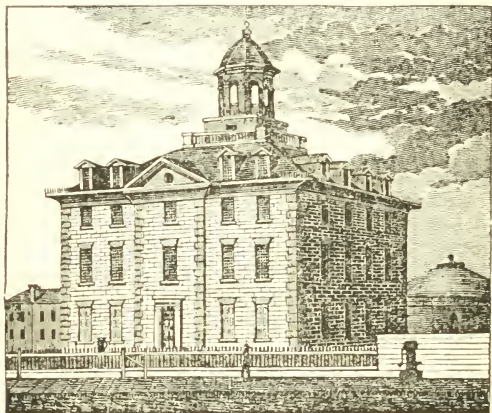
John. From such conduct towards the commander-in-chief and others, I should suppose General Gates was intoxicated by his success.

Un. The flatteries that poured in upon him were such as his mind could not bear. His cabal openly declared that he alone was fit for the supreme command. As a step towards it, on the 27th of November, he was appointed president of the board of war, and his friend Mifflin was one of his council. The board appointed Conway inspector-general, with the rank of major-general, and powers, "in effect," says Marshall, "paramount to those of the commander-in-chief." A majority of congress confirmed this appointment, although this man had been recently detected in an infamous correspondence with Gates, and was denounced by Washington as a "dangerous incendiary." Happily, General Greene and a number of field-officers would not submit to the indignity of seeing this upstart foreign officer placed in such an office in defiance of the commander-in-chief. They remonstrated; Conway was obliged to retire; and the cabal was defeated in this part of their intrigue. Of General Gates as president of the board of war, I will only observe, that none of his plans were successful, nor any of his measures efficacious.

CHAPTER XVI.

Un. As we returned from our walk yesterday and passed the Record Office, I promised you some account of that building when it was the jail and "provost," and a few words respecting our unfortunate prisoners. The early part of the contest made the balance of captives so much against us, that, added to difficulties respecting exchanges, our unfortunate countrymen were left in crowds to suffer by close confinement, disease, and hard treatment, in a manner unexampled in modern warfare. Ethan

Allen was long treated as a traitor, and Charles Lee as a deserter, until the firmness of Washington, and the successes at Trenton and Princeton, convinced the English that such treatment would not be suffered to pass without retaliation. Lee was finally exchanged for General Prescott, (borne off from his quarters by a coup de main;) and by slow degrees the English were obliged to treat Americans as men having the rights of a civilized nation. Here



I present you with a picture of the jail, which was built in the fields during the years 1757-8. This is the place in which Captain McDougall was confined by the general assembly for what they called a libel, and here he was visited by the patriotick gentlemen and ladies of the time, daily, for months. And here, when called the provost or "provo," hundreds of American gentlemen suffered under the tyranny of the noted Cunningham, who had the office of provost-marshal to the British army given him, as a

reward for his services when a leader of the tory bullies and others who assailed the popular meetings in the neighbourhood of the liberty pole; which stood to the west of this building, until cut down by the English as their first triumph on entering the town in the summer of 1776. As Cunningham had been forced to kneel at its foot, he probably wielded the axe among the foremost in its demolition.

John. This does not look like the beautiful building now occupying the spot.

Un. Yet it is the same. The walls of the Record Office are the same, neither added to, nor diminished. But by the magick of the architect it is transformed from an ugly cage-like nuisance, to a Grecian temple on the model of the Parthenon. It is not only the most perfect building our city contains, in its appearance, but the most perfect in reality—for it is in all parts *fire-proof*, as all our buildings should be, if men consulted either their safety or their interest.

Wm. Were all the American prisoners kept here?

Un. O no! Unhappily they were too numerous to be incarcerated in many such jails. The prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington, were at first shut up in the College, and in the “new, or middle Dutch church, in Nassau and Cedar streets.” An old gentleman now living, (1837,) who was one of Captain Vandyke’s grenadiers, and made prisoner on the 27th of August, says he saw the “great fire” from the College windows. Another gentleman, Mr. John Pintard, who is still with us, and who as a young man was an assistant to his uncle, Mr. Lewis Pintard, appointed by congress to supply necessary clothing for the American prisoners during a part of the war, gives us some particulars which are very valuable, as he was in New York, and had an opportunity for ac-

quiring knowledge respecting his suffering countrymen. He tells us, in a published document, that in the church above-mentioned, "the sick, the wounded, and well, were all indiscriminately huddled together by hundreds and thousands, large numbers of whom died by disease; and many undoubtedly poisoned by inhuman surgeons for the sake of their watches or silver buckles."

John. Could this be, sir?

Un. If, instead of "surgeons," the writer had said "assistants" or "attendants," it would probably be more correct. However, his testimony must be received, and we must remember that he speaks of the time immediately following the battle of Brooklyn, the recent occupancy of the city by the victors, the conflagration of a great portion of it, and the capture of the brave men at Fort Washington; all tending to create disorder in every department of the then conquering army. The writer proceeds to mention circumstances witnessed and remembered by myself. He says, "This church (the middle Dutch) was afterward converted into a riding school for training dragoons. The extensive sugar-house in Liberty street, and the north Dutch church, were also used as prisons. The new Quaker meeting-house, formerly in Pearl street, was appropriated as a hospital. The seamen were confined on board the prison-ships, where they suffered every hardship to compel them to enter into the British service, and were consigned to disease and death by hundreds. Many officers were parolled on Long Island, at Flatbush, New Utrecht, and Gravesend." Here follows a description of the interior of the "provost," that is, the building whose picture we have before us, which none but an eye-witness could have given. Read it, William.

Wm. "The provost was destined for the more

notorious rebels, civil, naval, and military. An admission into this modern bastile was enough to appal the stoutest heart. On the right hand of the main door was Captain Cunningham's quarters, opposite to which was the guard-room. Within the first barricade was Sergeant Keefe's apartment. At the entrance-door two sentinels were always posted by day and night; two more at the first and second barricades, which were grated, barred, and chained; also at the rear-door, and on the platform at the grated door at the foot of the second flight of steps, leading to the rooms and cells in the second and third stories. When a prisoner, escorted by soldiers, was led into the hall, the whole guard was paraded, and he was delivered over, with all formality, to Captain Cunningham or his deputy, and questioned as to his name, rank, size, age, &c., all of which were entered in a record book. What with the bristling of arms, unbolting of bars and locks, clanking of enormous iron chains, and a vestibule as dark as Erebus, the unfortunate captive might well shrink under this infernal sight and parade of tyrannical power, as he crossed the threshold of that door which possibly closed on him for life. But it is not our wish to revive the horrors attendant on our revolutionary war; grateful to Divine Providence for its propitious issue, we would only remark to the existing and rising generation, that the independence of the United States, and the civil and religious privileges they now enjoy, were achieved and purchased by the blood and sufferings of their patriotick forefathers. May they guard and transmit the boon to their latest posterity.

"The northeast chamber, turning to the left, on the second floor, was appropriated to officers, and characters of superiour rank and distinction, and was called Congress-hall. So closely were they

packed, that when they lay down at night to rest, when their bones ached on the hard oak planks, and they wished to turn, it was altogether by word of command, "*right—left*," being so wedged and compact as to form almost a solid mass of human bodies. In the daytime the packs and blankets of the prisoners were suspended around the walls, every precaution being used to keep the rooms ventilated, and the walls and floors clean, to prevent jail fever; and, as the provost was generally crowded with American prisoners, or British culprits of every description, it is really wonderful that infection never broke out within its walls.

"In this gloomy terrifick abode were incarcerated at different periods many American officers and citizens of distinction, awaiting with sickening hope and tantalizing expectation the protracted period of their exchange and liberation. Could these dumb walls speak, what scenes of anguish, what tales of agonizing wo, might they disclose!

"Among other characters, there were, at the same time, the famous Colonel Ethan Allen, and Judge Fell, of Bergen county, New Jersey. When Captain Cunningham entertained the young British officers, accustomed to command the provost guard, by dint of curtailing the prisoners' rations, exchanging good for bad provisions, and other embezzlements practised on John Bull, the captain, his deputy, and indeed the commissaries generally, were enabled to fare sumptuously. In the drunken orgies that usually terminated his dinners, the captain would order the rebel prisoners to turn out and parade, for the amusement of his guests; pointing them out, 'this is the damned rebel, Colonel Ethan Allen—that a rebel judge, an Englishman,' &c. &c."

John. During the period in which you have been

kind enough to speak of the transactions of the north, what was doing this way?

Un. I must limit myself to events in our state, or those immediately adjoining, and refer you to Marshall's history, to Washington's letters, and other works, for the movements more to the south. Great was the necessity in which the commander-in-chief stood for re-enforcements, and urgent his call for the troops which the convention of Saratoga left available. But Gates seemed disposed to withhold them as much as possible. Intoxicated by the applauses of Congress and the country, he felt that the supreme command of the armies of the Continent was within his grasp. You will read in the life of Alexander Hamilton, written by his son, of the difficulties that officer met with in bringing on the troops, (no longer wanted at the north,) to the aid of the commander-in-chief. Morgan, the gallant Morgan, was soon with his favourite general: but the other regiments seemed kept back for sinister ends.

Wm. Morgan was Washington's friend!

Un. It is said that the slight he received from Gates was in consequence of a declaration made in his blunt way, that no other man but Washington could save the country, nor would he serve if that great man was displaced.

John. The plan of the campaign of 1777 by the English was a great one, I think, sir.

Un. It was. While Howe with the main army proceeded to Philadelphia by the Chesapeake, and occupied General Washington, Burgoyne was to push for Albany, and Clinton to ascend the Hudson and meet him. Now let us attend again to our own city and the transactions in our neighbourhood; leaving the persecuted commander-in-chief to place his army in such winter quarters as they could form

for themselves by building huts in the woods at Valley Forge on the Schuylkill.

Wm. What do you mean by the commander-in-chief being persecuted?

Un. The hints and insinuations of Lee, the calumnies of Gates, and his adherents, had produced a party in Congress that amounted to a majority. The Irish officer who had been in the French service, Conway, soon became one of the Gates' faction, and violently opposed to Washington and his friends, particularly to the Baron de Kalb and the Marquis de Lafayette. This Conway became disagreeable to Washington, first by presumption, and then in consequence of a disclosure made of a paragraph in a letter from him to Gates, in which he says, "*Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it.*"

John. This is like Charles Lee's letter the day he was taken prisoner.

Un. It shows the vanity and self-conceit of these British officers, and their blind admiration of Gates. The expressions of Conway were repeated to Washington, and (as Mifflin informed Gates by letter) were enclosed by the general to Conway without remarks, who, says Mifflin, supported the opinion he had given, "the sentiment was not apologized for." Gates, on receiving this information from Mifflin, wrote to Conway, entreating to know which of the letters was copied off, and to Mifflin, expressing his uneasiness and anxiety to discover the villain who had "played him this treacherous trick." He likewise immediately wrote a letter to General Washington, conjuring him to assist, as he says, in "tracing out the author of the infidelity which put extracts from General Conway's letters to me into your hands." He says, the letters have been "stealingly copied." This, instead of being sent direct

to the general, was enclosed to congress. Upon hearing of this discovery, Lafayette wrote to Washington, informing him of Conway's endeavours by flattery to gain his confidence, and to make a breach between him and the general, so as to induce Lafayette to leave the country.

John. Why, sir, this man must have been very bad.

Un. There are documents extant in which, at this very time, he expresses his enmity to Lafayette. But you can only form a just estimate of this attempt upon General Washington by reading all the letters published by Mr. Sparks. I will only say further, that as Gates had enclosed his letter to the commander-in-chief in one to congress, *he* sent his answer in the same manner. Washington tells Gates that he had viewed Conway as a stranger to him, and had no thought that they were correspondents, "much less did I suspect that I was the subject of your confidential letters." He says, that on receiving his extract, he considered it as a friendly warning from Gates to forearm him "against a secret enemy, or in other words, a dangerous incendiary; in which character, sooner or later, this country will know General Conway: but in this, as in other matters of late, I have found myself mistaken." Gates then endeavoured to persuade the general that the extract was a forgery. The answer of Washington exposed the falsehood of the assertion, and showed the contradiction in which this weak man's own statements had involved him. Gates replied by a mean apology on the 19th of February, 1778, filled with such falsehoods as these: "As to the gentleman," Conway, "I have no personal connexion with him. nor had I any correspondence previous to his writing the letter which has given offence. I solemnly declare I am of no faction." He disavows any intention

of giving offence to his "Excellency," and concludes humbly "with great respect." I make use of the word falsehood, because in the papers left by Gates, and now in a public library, are the proofs that these assertions are void of truth.

John. How was this apology answered?

Un. Very coldly, thus: "Your repeatedly and solemnly disclaiming any offensive views, in those matters which have been the subject of our past correspondence, makes me willing to close with the desire you express, of burying them hereafter in silence, and, as far as future events will permit, oblivion. I am, sir, your most obedient servant."

Wm. This was cutting, sir.

Un. In the meantime General Washington received information, from various quarters, of the efforts made to overthrow him, and a most positive indication of their success, by the appointment of this Conway, notwithstanding the known opinions of Washington and Lafayette, to the office of inspector-general and the rank of major-general, to the excessive disgust of the American brigadiers. The whole of this infamous proceeding on the part of the faction in congress, of Gates, Conway, and others, can only be appreciated by reading all the documents published, and some yet unpublished, and in the library of the Historical Society.

John. This is a mortifying picture, uncle.

Un. It is. Let us turn from it with pity for the frailty of our fellow-creatures; and walk out of town among scenes of unsophisticated nature.

CHAPTER XVII.

John. You have given some account of the sufferings of our military men when prisoners here in New York, but how was it with the naval captives?

Un. Even worse. I well remember, though I was but a boy at the time, the comments made upon the treatment of the prisoners confined in the old Jersey prison ship, a hulk anchored in the Wallabout, and in the hospital hulks near her. The principal commissary of prisoners was a man of the name of Loring, a refugee or loyalist from Boston, whose wife lived in open concubinage with Sir William Howe, and the infamous husband was paid by a lucrative post, of which it was said that he made the most. The commissary for the naval prisoners was a Scotchman named David Sprout, a fellow whose face put his scarlet coat out of countenance. He had two assistants, one Scotch, and the other a refugee from New Jersey. The general character of the first was harshness, of the second, kindness. Here is an extract from a publication made by an aged clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Andros, who when a youth shipped himself as a privateersman from New London. He was taken, and confined in this sepulchre, where the living, the dying, and the dead, formed one mass, of which the latter description was the most enviable. I am far from charging upon the deputy commissaries the misery which my countrymen suffered in the prison ships: but I must think that there was culpable neglect or designed cruelty on the part of the commander-in-chief of the British army, or a criminal thirst for riches on the part of Sprout. Read what Mr. Andros says.

John. "We were captured on the 27th August

by the Solebay frigate, and safely stowed away in the old Jersey prison ship, at New York.

"This was an old sixty-four gun ship, which through age had become unfit for further actual service. She was stripped of every spar and all her rigging. After a battle with the French fleet, her lion figure-head was taken away to repair another ship; no appearance of ornament was left, and nothing remained but an old, unsightly, rotten hulk. Her dark and filthy external appearance perfectly corresponded with the death and despair that reigned within, and nothing could be more foreign from truth than to paint her with colours flying, or any circumstance or appendage to please the eye. She was moored about three quarters of a mile to the eastward of Brooklyn ferry, near a tide-mill, on the Long Island shore. The nearest distance to land was about twenty rods. And doubtless no other ship in the British navy ever proved the means of the destruction of so many human beings. It is computed that not less than eleven thousand American seamen perished in her. But after it was known that it was next to certain death to confine a prisoner here, the inhumanity and wickedness of doing it was about the same as if he had been taken into the city and deliberately shot on some publick square. But as if mercy had fled from the earth, here we were doomed to dwell. And never while I was on board did any Howard or angel of pity appear to inquire into, or alleviate our woes. Once or twice, by the order of a stranger on the quarter deck, a bag of apples were hurled promiscuously into the midst of hundreds of prisoners crowded together as thick as they could stand, and life and limbs were endangered by the scramble. This, instead of compassion, was a cruel

sport. When I saw it about to commence I fled to the most distant part of the ship.

“On the commencement of the first evening, we were driven down to darkness between decks, secured by iron gratings, and an armed soldiery. And now a scene of horror, which baffles all description, presented itself. On every side wretched, desponding shapes of men, could be seen. Around the well-room an armed guard were forcing up the prisoners to the winches, to clear the ship of water, and prevent her sinking, and little else could be heard but a roar of mutual execrations, reproaches, and insults. During this operation there was a small dim light admitted below, but it served to make darkness more visible, and horror more terrific. In my reflections I said, this must be a complete image and anticipation of hell.”

“When I first became an inmate of this abode of suffering, despair, and death, there were about four hundred prisoners on board, but in a short time they amounted to twelve hundred. And in proportion to our numbers, the mortality increased.

“All the most deadly diseases were pressed into the service of the king of terrors, but his prime-ministers were dysentery, small-pox, and yellow fever. There were two hospital ships near to the old Jersey, but these were soon so crowded with the sick, that they could receive no more. The consequence was, that the diseased and the healthy were mingled together in the main ship. In a short time we had two hundred or more sick and dying, lodged in the fore part of the lower gun deck, where all the prisoners were confined at night. Utter derangement was a common symptom of yellow fever, and to increase the horror of the darkness that shrouded us, (for we were allowed no light betwixt decks,) the voice of warning would be heard,

‘Take heed to yourselves; there is a mad man stalking through the ship with a knife in his hand.’ I sometimes found the man a corpse in the morning by whose side I laid myself down at night. At another time he would become deranged, and attempt in darkness to rise and stumble over the bodies that every where covered the deck. In this case I had to hold him in his place by main strength. In spite of my efforts he would sometimes rise, and then I had to close in with him, trip up his heels, and lay him again upon the deck. While so many were sick with raging fever, there was a loud cry for water, but none could be had except on the upper deck, and but one allowed to ascend at a time. The suffering then from the rage of thirst during the night was very great. Nor was it at all times safe to attempt to go up. Provoked by the continual cry for leave to ascend, when there was already one on deck, the sentry would push them back with his bayonet. By one of these thrusts, which was more spiteful and violent than common, I had a narrow escape of my life. In the morning the hatchways were thrown open, and we were allowed to ascend, all at once, and remain on the upper deck during the day. But the first object that met our view in the morning was a most appalling spectacle. A boat loaded with dead bodies, conveying them to the Long Island shore, where they were very slightly covered with sand. I sometimes used to stand to count the number of times the shovel was filled with sand to cover a dead body. And certain I am that a few high tides or torrents of rain must have disinterred them. And had they not been removed, I should suppose the shore, even now, would be covered with huge piles of the bones of American seamen. There were, probably, four hundred on board

who had never had the small-pox,—some, perhaps, might have been saved by inoculation.

“But humanity was wanting to try even this experiment.—Let our disease be what it would, we were abandoned to our fate. Now and then an American physician was brought in as a captive, but if he could obtain his parole he left the ship, nor could we much blame him for this; for his own death was next to certain, and his success in saving others by medicine in our situation was small. I remember only two American physicians who tarried on board a few days. No English physician, or any one from the city, ever, to my knowledge, came near us. There were thirteen of the crew to which I belonged, but in a short time all but three or four were dead. The most healthy and vigorous were first seized with the fever, and died in a few hours. For them there seemed to be no mercy. My constitution was less muscular and plethoric, and I escaped the fever longer than any of the thirteen except one, and the first onset was less violent.

“There is one palliating circumstance as to the inhumanity of the British which ought to be mentioned. The prisoners were furnished with buckets and brushes to cleanse the ship, and with vinegar to sprinkle her inside. But their indolence and despair were such that they would not use them, or but rarely. And, indeed, at this time, the encouragement to do it was small. For the whole ship, from her keel to the tafferel, was equally infected, and contained pestilence sufficient to desolate a world; disease and death were wrought into her very timbers. At the time I left, it is to be presumed, a more filthy, contagious, and deadly abode for human beings, never existed among a christianized people. It fell but little short of the black hole at

Calcutta. Death was more lingering, but almost equally certain.

"If there was any principle among the prisoners that could not be shaken, it was the love of their country. I knew no one to be seduced into the British service. They attempted to force one of our prize brig's crew into the navy, but he chose rather to die than perform any duty, and he was again restored to the prison-ship."

Un. In addition to the testimony of Mr. Andros, I have that of an aged gentleman still residing with us, who confirms the statement made in the book. He says, he was an officer on board the United States frigate *Confederacy*, and was captured by two English frigates. Being at the time of capture sick, he was put on board one of the hulks in the *Walla-bout* that served as a hospital ship for convalescents, but was as soon as somewhat restored transferred to the "*Old Jersey*," to make room for others more helpless. Here he experienced all the sufferings, and witnessed the horrors, described by Andros, for five months. The confinement in so crowded a place, the pestilential air, the putrid and damaged food given to the prisoners, (procured by the commissaries for little or nothing, and charged to the English government at the prices of the best provisions,) soon produced a fever, under which this young man suffered without medicine or attendance, until nature, too strong for even such enemies, restored him to a species of health, again to be prostrated by the same causes. He says, he never saw given to the prisoners one ounce of wholesome food. The loathsome beef they prepared by pressing, and then threw it, with damaged bread, into the kettle, skimming off the previous tenants of this poisonous food as they rose to the top of the vessel.

John. And for the sake of money, did men so torture and poison their fellow-men?

Un. Even so, my son. And these commissaries became rich, and revelled in luxuries, hearing the groans of their victims daily, and seeing the bodies of those who were relieved from torture by death, carried by boat loads to be half-buried in the sands of the Wallabout. The testimony proving these atrocities cannot be doubted. Yet, in answer to the remonstrances of General Washington, Admiral Arbuthnot denied the charge altogether.

John. What became of this young American?

Un. To save his life, he accepted the offer of the purser to become his deputy, and was then removed from the darkness, filth, stench, and horrible sounds, which assailed him in the dungeons of this floating hell. In the office of deputy-purser he fared well, and recovered health. He witnessed a mode of cheating practised by the clerks and underlings, less criminal than that of the commissaries of prisoners. Such of the captives as had money were liberated by bargain with these officials, and returned on the report as dead; and the deaths were so many, that this passed without inquiry.

Wm. How did the prisoners preserve their money when taken?

Un. By providently, when at liberty, sewing gold in pieces of canvass, and fastening them under their trowsers, to serve in time of adversity.

John. How could these subaltern officers or clerks liberate the prisoners, sir?

Un. A boat would be brought to the ship at night, and by a system of collusion, the person who had bought his liberty would be removed on some specious pretence. Faith was kept with them to encourage others in the same process.

Wm. Uncle, I am almost sick of war.

Un. I hope all mankind will be sick of it, boy.

John. The sufferings of the prisoners on shore were not so great, I hope.

Un. Let me finish all I have to say on this subject, and we will turn to one of a different character. When a boy I went to school in Little Queen street, now Cedar street, and my seat at the desk, in an upper room of a large storehouse kind of building, placed me in full view of the Sugar-house, corner of Crown, now Liberty street, and Nassau street. You have noticed the tall pile of building with little port-hole windows tier above tier. In that place crowds of American prisoners were incarcerated, pined, sickened, and died. During the suffocating heat of summer, when my school room windows were all open, and I could not catch a cooling breeze, I saw opposite to me every narrow aperture of those stone walls filled with human heads, face above face, seeking a portion of the external air. What must have been the atmosphere within? Andros's description of the prison ship tells us. Child as I was, this spectacle sunk deep in my heart. I can see the picture now.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Un. In our last walk through Broadway, I promised you some account of the old Trinity church, which was burnt in the great fire of 1776. I here present you with a picture of the ruins as they stood until after the revolution. This edifice, frequently called in the old records of our city, "the English church," was built, says Smith, the historian, "in 1696, and afterward enlarged in 1737. It stands," says he, writing in 1757, "very pleasantly upon the banks of Hudson's river." The present Trinity church occupies the same ground.

Phil. I am sure, Uncle, it is not near the river.

John. There is Lumber street, Greenwich, Washington, and West streets, between its cemetery and the river.

Un. Yet the scite of the present church was, in

1757, on the banks of the river. Smith continues, "and has a large cemetery on each side, enclosed in the front, by a painted paled fence. Before it a long walk is railed off, from the Broadway, the pleasantest street of any in the whole town." This walk, during the occupancy of the city by the English as enemies, was called "the Mall," and every morning there paraded the troops destined as guards for the different posts of the garrison; the "main guard" being the City hall in Wall street. In the evening, during summer, "the Mall" was the fashionable walk for ladies and gentlemen, while in the churchyard a band of military musick turned the thoughts of the promenaders far from the dead within the palings, or the ruins which stood as a monument of the horrors of war. Read what the historian gives as the dimensions of Trinity church, in 1757.

John. "One hundred and forty-eight feet long, including the tower and chancel, and seventy-two feet in breadth. The steeple is one hundred and seventy-five feet in height." "The church is within ornamented beyond any place of the kind amongst us. The head of the chancel is adorned with an altar-piece, and opposite to it, at the other end of the building, is the organ. The tops of the pillars which support the galleries are decked with the gilt busts of angels winged. From the ceiling are suspended two glass branches, and on the walls hang the arms of some of its principal benefactors. The alleys are paved with flat stones."

Un. Such was Trinity church when I saw it in 1775; at that time its pictures and winged angels made an impression on my mind never to be effaced. In 1777, I saw it as in the little picture I give you. I will now proceed with the political events of that period, and one of great consequence was organizing the government of the state of New York. A con-

vention for this purpose was called in April, 1777, amidst the tumults of war; and on the 8th of May, an ordinance was passed at Kingston, by which fifteen native citizens of the state, (among whom were John Morin Scott, Robert R. Livingston, Governor Morris, John Jay, John Sloss Hobart, and other patriots,) or a majority of them, were constituted a council of safety, and invested with all the powers necessary for the preservation of the state, until a meeting of the legislature; provided, that the executive powers of the state shall be vested in the governor as soon as he shall be chosen and admitted into office, and taken the oaths of allegiance and of office.

Wm. And Governor George Clinton was chosen. But who did he swear allegiance to, Uncle?

Un. To the people, boy. The people, for whose benefit all *legitimate* government is instituted. This convention chose the following officers: Robert R. Livingston, chancellor; John Jay, chief-justice; Robert Yates, and John Sloss Hobart, judges; and Egbert Benson, attorney-general. These gentlemen were to hold their offices, if approved by the council of appointment, at their first session; and, if so approved, during good behaviour.

John. The king's governor, Tryon, dissolved the legislature of New York, in 1775. When did the governor elected to serve the people meet the people's representatives?

Un. The legislature met at Kingston, on the 1st of September, 1777, but did not form a quorum until the 10th; when Governor Clinton, in his speech, applauded the garrison of Fort Schuyler, spoke of the brave General Herkimer, and praised the militia of Tryon county. He mentioned in terms of exultation the complete victory near Bennington, gained by the militia of New Hampshire, Massachu-

setts and the northeastern counties of New York. At this time the legislature sent delegates to the continental congress.

John. Who were they, sir?

Un. Philip Livingston, James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, and Gouverneur Morris. The assembly was interrupted in its work of peace by the attack upon the Highlands, and was dissolved October 7th; but on the 5th of January, 1778, they met again, at Poughkeepsie. On the 18th of June, 1778, the British army, under the conduct of Sir Henry Clinton, (Howe having been recalled, and abdicated the command,) left Philadelphia, and bent their way, through New Jersey, towards the seacoast. Washington moved in pursuit. Lee having been exchanged for General Prescott, the commander-in-chief had the misfortune of being nominally served by his oldest major-general, who was fully convinced that his judgment, knowledge, and skill, were superiour to those of his commander. On the 24th of June, a council of war was held at Hopewell, in which Lee strenuously opposed bringing the enemy to a general action; and, his rank, added to his reputation, influenced the decision of the younger officers. The council decided against it. It was determined that a large detachment should be pushed forward to attack the rear of the retiring army, and this detachment fell to the command of Lee, as the senior officer, although he opposed the measure. Lafayette offered, if Lee was disinclined to this service, to take the command; and Lee consented, saying, he disapproved of the plans of the general, was sure they would fail, and was glad not to be responsible. Unfortunately, he changed his mind, and wrote a letter to the commander-in-chief, requiring to lead this important detachment. Lafayette would not consent after what had passed, but finally agreed to

resign the command to Lee, provided the enemy were not brought to action that day; the day passed—the action took place the next day; Lee retreated contrary to Washington's orders, who meeting him retiring before the enemy, reprimanded him publickly. The general pushed forward to meet the advancing army, drove them from the field of battle with the loss of upwards of two hundred and fifty privates and officers, killed, and a great number borne off wounded during the night, which they took advantage of to move silently away towards their ships. Washington was well supported by Morgan, Dickenson, Lafayette, Wayne, Greene, Stirling, and most of his officers, and his loss was seven officers, and fifty-two privates, killed; one hundred and thirty-seven officers and privates wounded. The day was one of the hottest ever known in America, and many brave men are said to have died untouched by any foe but heat and fatigue. The British escaped to their ships, and the Americans bent their course towards the Hudson.

John. What became of Lee, sir?

Un. He was put under arrest; tried for disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy, for making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat, and for disrespect to the commander-in-chief, in two letters addressed to him. On the 12th of August, the court martial found him guilty of all the charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from command for twelve months. Congress approved the sentence, and Lee was deprived of the power of future mischief, except by writing, and complaining. I will now relate an occurrence belonging to the history of our city, which came under my own observation. It is recorded that the winter of 1779–80, was one of the most severe ever known here, and I remember the preceding summer as one of the hot-

test I ever experienced. I have mentioned the sufferings from heat at the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of June; and on the night of the 7th of August, I remember well that I lay panting for air on the floor near a window, having left my bed, when I was roused from imperfect sleep by the cry of fire, and the ringing of alarm bells. In those days such alarms were rarely known, and it was probably the first time I had ever heard the terrific sound. I started up, and saw every thing around illuminated by the blaze. Three hundred houses were rapidly consumed; all Dock street and Little Dock street, with many buildings adjacent. This was called the second great fire. In the morning I visited the ruins, and assisted a schoolmate to rescue and guard some remaining furniture belonging to his widowed mother. Well I remember looking at the sun through the smoke, with wonder at his fiery face disfigured by the curling masses of black and red smoke, as they mounted from the half burnt buildings. There were no fire companies organized, as had previously been; the citizens were accustomed to form ranks from a pump or reservoir, and each to bring the buckets of his house in case of fire; but on this occasion the military interfered, and, perhaps intending well, aided the work of destruction. The heat of the 8th of August, 1778, was intolerable, and the spirits of the people of New York depressed by the recent conflagration. About two o'clock, masses of black clouds overshadowed us from the west, and a thunder-storm commenced with violence; but the flashes of lightning, or the deafening peals of thunder, did not prevent my father's family from sitting down to dinner, for it was while thus engaged that a crash startled every one from his seat, the house appeared to shake, papers that had been left near an open chamber window came fluttering down in fantastick

gyrations—"the house is struck!" was the cry, which seemed to be confirmed, as the tiled roof on the front rattled to the pavement, and torrents of rain poured in without impediment.

John. Struck by the lightning, sir?

Un. On running into the street it was seen that all the houses with tiled roofs were in the same situation. Consternation was general, and the cause unknown of so violent and extensive a concussion. But soon was seen a black column of smoke rising in the east far over the houses, and while gazing at this new phenomenon, one arrived from the east river side of the town, and explained the awful appearances. A powder vessel, lying off in the stream, had been struck by the lightning, and exploded, producing the startling effects we had witnessed. Every house facing the river was uncovered, in front, to the pelting rain, and every face that was seen looked horror struck.

John. And those in the powder-ship, sir?

Un. It was a sloop, not a ship, and had been left in charge of a boy, who was the only person that suffered death. Such is my recollection of the night and day of the second great fire. I remember that day as one of gloom and darkness.

John. How was our legislature occupied, sir?

Un. The house met and proceeded to business on the 15th of January, 1778, as though they had not been disturbed by a foreign enemy in the preceding year. After resolving on measures of defence, the differences with their neighbours occupied them. They asserted that the state ought to exert its undoubted supremacy over persons and property in the northeastern part thereof. They made overtures of accommodation respecting certain titles to land, provided the persons, before the 1st of May, 1778, renounced allegiance "to the pre-

tended state of Vermont." They said, New York will take necessary measures to compel all persons refusing obedience to the government of the state, "to yield it." And the governor was requested to issue his proclamation accordingly. On the 22d of June, Governor Clinton, by message, told the assembly that he had issued his proclamation pursuant to their resolve; and that he had pressed for an express and unequivocal declaration of the sense of congress on the subject. He said that the result of the application to congress ought to be patiently expected, before any coercive steps be taken to reduce the delinquents, who aim at independency under the title of the state of Vermont, to a sense of duty. But the assembly resolved, at every hazard, to maintain the jurisdiction of the state throughout the whole of its territory."

John. And yet, sir, the little state of Vermont has done very well.

Un. I believe they are satisfied with managing their own affairs without our advice or assistance.

John. Who represented New York in congress at this time?

Un. James Duane, Gouverneur Morris, Philip Schuyler, William Floyd, and Francis Lewis.

Wm. I am glad General Schuyler is one. I am sure he would do nothing against Washington.

Un. I believe all the New York delegation were "good men and true." Now for our walk.

CHAPTER XIX.

Un. I will mention some of the military movements and actions, for and against our cause, that

happened within the limits I have assigned to my historical instruction. One of the most heart-rending, took place at Cherry Valley, in November, 1778: this place was then a frontier settlement, and Colonel Alden had recently been stationed there, with a regiment from Massachusetts. A noted partizan, of the name of Walter Butler, who delighted in Indian warfare, and was more a savage than the savages he led, (a mass of tories, and of Indians, under Brandt, such as had been, at various periods, directed by the English leaders against the settlements west of Albany.) This man, knowing the country better than Alden, took him by surprise, notwithstanding he had had warning, and massacred, not only him and many of his men, but the inhabitants of every age and description. Men, women, and children, were butchered in cold blood. You will read this transaction, and much else, well told, in Mr. Campbell's Annals of Tryon county. This murderous affair, and a similar massacre at Wyoming, led to the determination of sending a force to lay waste the Indian settlements. General Sullivan accepted the command, refused by Gates, and marching through part of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, arrived at the desolated Wyoming, on the 17th of June, 1779. Here, every thing being prepared, on the last of July the army pushed forward upon the Indian settlements, the stores and artillery passing up the Susquehanna in one hundred and fifty boats. Having destroyed an Indian town, and built a fort, Sullivan awaited the junction of another portion of his army, which approached (under General James Clinton) by the way of the Mohawk. The brave Colonel Van Schaick, and other New York officers, carried the scourge of retribution upon the Onondagas, burning their village, and laying waste their corn-fields, after a skir-

mish, in which the savages lost a number of their warriors. A road was opened to the Otsego lake, with immense labour, and boats carried thither for the troops to embark, that they might form a junction with Sullivan. This accomplished, they pursued the work of destruction, but not without opposition. On the 29th of August, Butler and Brandt, with their whole force of Tories and Indians, gave battle, but soon fled with loss, and made no other regular attempt at resistance. The country of all the hostile tribes was laid waste; none were spared but the Oneidas, who had preserved at least the appearance of friendship towards the Americans.

John. I suppose, sir, this produced quiet on the frontiers of New York?

Un. For a time. We will now look nearer home, where some brilliant military successes gave eclat to our arms. General Anthony Wayne had distinguished himself on many occasions in the course of the war, but his fame as a gallant officer was established upon a daring achievement of the 15th July, in the year of which we have been speaking.

Wm. Will you please, sir, to tell us something of General Wayne.

Un. He was a bold, prompt, enterprising officer, and his character gained him the cognomen of "Mad Anthony."

John. As Buonaparte was called the "little corporal," by his soldiers.

Wm. Had General Washington any such nickname, sir?

Un. No. There are characters that soar above the mass of mankind too far to admit of such familiar appellations. Washington was one. We can only call him by his name; or add, "the father of his country;" not so "Mad Anthony." While the army were in their winter-huts at Valley Forge,

Wayne was detached into New Jersey, to destroy such forage as was likely to fall into the hands of the English, and bring in supplies for his countrymen. This he performed in defiance of a superiour force of the enemy, and by his successful efforts in collecting cattle he gained from Major Andre, of the British army, the appellation of the "warrio-drover," in a song, which I remember as being popular, at the time, in New York, and sung, in derision, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle."

Phil. Do you remember it, Uncle?

Un. The last verse has been noted as prophetick of Andre's fate: he fell into Wayne's hands, and was hanged as the associate of Arnold. But Wayne was not one of the court that condemned the young adjutant-general to the death of a spy. The action that gave celebrity to the name of Wayne is of a date antierior to the treason of Arnold. It was the taking by a successful assault the fortress at Stony Point, which the "warrio-drover" gallantly carried, without firing a gun, at the head of four hundred brave Americans, with fixed bayonets, while the poet basked in the smiles of New York tory belles, or painted scenes for the Theatre Royal in John street. Stony Point had fallen into the hands of the British, and by them was very strongly fortified. It was garrisoned by the brave seventeenth regiment, a company of grenadiers of the seventy-first, a corps of refugees or tories, with adequate artillerists; the whole commanded by Colonel Johnson. The plan of this enterprise was formed by the commander-in-chief, and he chose Wayne for the execution. At eight o'clock of the evening of the 15th of July, 1779, Wayne and his little army arrived, undiscovered, within a mile and a half of the point, having marched fourteen miles since noon. Here he rested his men, and reconnoitred the enemy's

works. Formed in two columns, at midnight, the Americans proceeded to the attack, their advance with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. They had to pass through a morass, exposed to the enemy's fire, who, aware of their approach, poured forth incessant discharges of musketry and cannon. The two attacking columns moved on by different paths, and surmounting every obstacle, met in the centre of the enemy's works. Wayne was struck by a musket ball on the head, but supported by his aids, persisted in entering the works with his brave companions. Two flags, two standards, fifteen pieces of artillery, a great quantity of military stores, and five hundred and forty-three prisoners were the fruits of this brilliant victory. Lieutenant-colonel Fleury, who led one of the columns, struck the enemy's standard with his own hand. The other column was led by Major Stewart. Colonels Meigs, Butler, and Febeger, were participators in this enterprise, and Lieutenant-colonel Hay was wounded, fighting at the head of his battalion. The enemy lost in killed sixty-three, and the Americans had fifteen killed, and eighty-three wounded. Medals were given by congress to Wayne, Fleury, and Stewart; honours were bestowed on the officers, and pecuniary rewards on the soldiers. But Washington, whose head-quarters were at this time at West Point, deemed the post untenable, and destroyed the works. Although "Mad Anthony" had been knocked on the head in this affair, he found himself enabled to write a note to the commander-in-chief, two hours after midnight, saying, "Dear General—The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnson, are ours. Our officers and men have behaved like men who are determined to be free. Yours, most sincerely, Anthony Wayne."

Wm. Well done, mad Anthony!

Un. A very short time after this, Major Lee performed a brilliant exploit, still nearer to our city. The British had a garrison at Powles Hook, now Jersey City, but then only known as the ferry and first stage between New York and Philadelphia. Powles Hook is, by nature, almost an island, and the British had made it quite so by cutting a deep ditch through the marsh, into which the tide flowed, and rendered it impassable except at low water. They had a draw-bridge over this ditch, which, of course, was only let down for their own use; and a strong gate appeared to secure this pass. The post was well fortified and garrisoned, but being far removed from the nearest American station, was considered out of danger. Lee had observed, or gained intelligence of, the negligence of the garrison, and formed the design to surprise them. Lord Stirling, to aid the enterprise, ordered a detachment down towards the Hackinsac river to forage, which caused no alarm, and followed himself with five hundred men, three hundred of whom were to accompany Lee over the river, and to the attack of the point. He reached the creek between two and three in the morning, crossed the ditch undiscovered, and entered the main work with the loss of two killed and three wounded. A few of the British were killed at the first charge, and one hundred and fifty, including three officers, made prisoners. They were borne off with the standard: and the victors arrived at Hackinsac river, where boats were to have been in waiting. These had been withdrawn by mistake, and the men, fatigued with a march of many miles, were obliged to push rapidly up the river fourteen miles before they gained the bridge, crossed, and were met by their friends. This exploit was performed within sight of the army at New York, and of their ships of war in the harbour. Henry Lee afterward com-

manded a corps called the legion, who did memorable service under General Greene, but out of our precinct. We shall, however, have to mention this gallant officer again, in the course of our New York history.

John. What were the military movements of the enemy during the time of which you have spoken, sir?

Un. They were of little credit to them, or benefit to their cause. The British generals, Tryon and Garth, landed near New Haven in July, entered the town, and burnt some publick stores; but not without resistance and loss. The militia met them bravely, but were overpowered, and had a number of worthy citizens killed, wounded, and carried off prisoners. The British acknowledged a loss in killed, wounded, and missing, of seventy-six. Tryon, with his army, were employed in burning, at Norwalk, Fairfield, Greenwich, and New Haven, churches, dwelling-houses, court-houses, and schools, with other buildings, to the great loss and distress of the country, and certainly without benefit to Great Britain. Of the destruction you may judge, when that at Norwalk amounted to one hundred and thirty dwelling-houses, eighty-seven barns, thirty-nine stores and shops, four mills, and two places of worship. Such were the exploits of Major General Tryon, former governor of New York, and his conduct, (Lord George Germain wrote to Sir Henry Clinton,) met his majesty's approbation.

John. Was there any thing particular doing in this city during the summer of 1779?

Un. Sir Henry Clinton received a re-enforcement from England, and made preparations for detaching troops from New York, by fortifying the approaches on the land side, and on Long Island. The inhabitants were enrolled as militia, and many formed

volunteer companies, and were drilled and uniformed. These were principally English and Scotch merchants, and refugees from Boston and elsewhere. I have seen these volunteer companies acting as press-gangs for the fleet, and arresting sailors, and sometimes others, at the point of the bayonet. It appears by published letters that Sir Henry Clinton was discontented with the service, and very much with the conduct of the refugees, who were formed into a "board of loyalists" under Governor Franklin, formerly of New Jersey, and who generally interfered with the plans of the general, by representations to the ministry, dictated by their selfishness and passions, and by assuming powers of which I shall hereafter speak. At present let us seek amusement, after this lesson in local history, by a walk to Kipp's bay.

CHAPTER XX.

Un. In the month of September, 1779, the British forces had returned from depredating to the eastward, and two large columns moved from our city up the Hudson, one on each side. Cornwallis commanded on the west side of the river, with his left on the Hackinsac. Knyphausen led the column on the east of the Hudson. Colonel Baylor crossed the Hackinsac, on the 27th of September, with his cavalry, and took post at a place called Herringtown, where a party of militia were quartered. Cornwallis saw that this post was within his reach, and ordered two detachments, under General Gray and Colonel Campbell, to advance on Baylor's cavalry. Guided by some mercenary wretches, inhabitants of

the neighbourhood, the British eluded the patrols of Baylor, and cut off his advance guard without alarming the main body of the regiment, who were asleep in a barn. The orders of General Gray were to charge upon his enemy, thus taken by surprise, and give no quarter. The inhuman order was obeyed almost to the letter. Of one hundred and four privates, sixty-seven were bayoneted, while demanding quarter. Baylor was wounded with a bayonet, but recovered; his major died of his wounds. One of Gray's captains disobeyed the order of his commander, and made prisoners of about forty, choosing rather to give quarter to brave men than to stab them defenceless and unresisting. Three days after this, the gallant Major Lee, with his cavalry, and Colonel Richard Butler, with some infantry, fell in with a party of German yagers, of whom they killed ten, and carried off eighteen, with the commanding officer, as prisoners.

Wm. What is meant by yager, sir?

Un. The word literally signifies huntsman, but is appropriated by the Germans to their light cavalry.

John. Did the British proceed to the Highlands, sir?

Un. No. They completed their foraging, which seems to have been one object of the movement, and then returned to New York; another object was to call the attention of our folks from their attempt upon the stores at Egg Harbour.

Wm. I hope, sir, you have no more defeats of "our folks" to tell of.

Un. You must hear of many disasters, boy: for what is war but a series of disasters? Count Pulaski, a gallant foreign officer in our service, had raised a legionary corps, officered by foreigners, and had been ordered to march from Trenton towards Egg Harbour.

Wm. What is meant by legionary corps, sir?

Un. A corps composed of cavalry and infantry. The British, who had with a detachment destroyed our stores at Little Egg Harbour, gained intelligence of Pulaski's movement, surprised his corps, put his infantry to the bayonet, and gained a decided advantage over his cavalry.

Wm. Had we no successes at this time, sir?

Un. Let us look to the frontiers of our own state.

Wm. There I suppose the tomahawk and the scalping knife were at work.

Un. At midsummer, in 1780, Brandt, the Indian chief, before mentioned, with a body of tories and Indians, laid waste the district of Canajoharie, at a time when the militia were on service at Fort Schuyler. Sir John Johnson wreaked his vengeance on Schoharie, which he burnt, and with his savages, on the 18th of October, laid Caughnawaga in ruins, sweeping with the besom of destruction the valley of the Schoharie creek. Johnson passed up the north side of the Mohawk, burning all in his course. General Van Renselaer, who commanded in this district, ordered out Colonel Brown with his militia, but they were not in sufficient force to withstand the enemy, and the colonel, and thirty of his men, fell in the attempt. Johnson took post near the Mohawk castle, or village, and fortified the spot, by a breastwork thrown across a neck of land, in part surrounded by the Mohawk river. Here he placed his regiment of regulars and tories. His Indians occupied an elevated wood in his neighbourhood. General Van Renselaer attacked the Indians, drove them from their cover, and they fled towards the Susquehanna. Johnson's troops resisted until night, and under its cover they escaped from the intended attack of the next day.

John. This warfare on the borders, carried on by

Indians, was more dreadful than even the horrors of battle.

Un. Tenfold more: for women and children were butchered by these barbarians, and indiscriminate devastation spread over the most beautiful valley in the world. Johnson, and his tories, Indians, Canadians, and Englishmen, in October, 1780, left the vale of the Schoharie creek, strewn with the wrecks of a happy population, notwithstanding the brave resistance of the inhabitants, who in many encounters with these savages displayed a courage worthy of the cause they fought in—the cause of *humanity*. Early in 1781, while yet the country was covered with snow, the enemy succeeded in capturing several of the garrison of Fort Schuyler, and Major Nicholas Fish, one of our very worthy citizens, but lately deceased, by great efforts succeeded in relieving the garrison. In July, Colonel Marinus Willet commanded at this fort. A party of three hundred Indians and tories, led by one John Doxtader, were scouring the Mohawk valley, and had even burned a village within a short distance of Schenectady, when Willet, ever prompt and active, having, by his scouts, learned their number and situation, marched with one hundred and six men during a dark night to the vicinity of the enemy's camp, which was in a thick swamp near Cherry Valley. Major McKean joined Willet with thirty men; and they came in sight of the swamp about daybreak. Colonel Willet drew up his party in two parallel lines, and ordered them to conceal themselves behind trees. Major McKean occupied the right, and Willet, with one hundred men, the left of the line. Two men were sent to pass over an open piece of ground as a decoy, with orders to run, when discovered by the enemy, in between the two lines. The plan succeeded. The Indians raised their war cry and pur-

sued the fugitives, but as they approached the ambush they were received by a deadly fire from right and left. They retreated, and betook themselves to trees for shelter; but Willet now ordered a charge with the bayonet, and, waving his hat with a *hurrah*, led on his men, driving the savage foe through the encampment, which, with all their recently accumulated plunder, fell into the hands of the victors. The enemy was pursued toward the Susquehanna.

Wm. Colonel Marinus Willet, I remember, was one of the New York Liberty boys, with Sears, McDougall, and Lamb.

Un. He was, boy; and lived here many years after the country was blessed with self-government, owing to the exertions of such true patriots as himself. He was for a time mayor of our city; and when in advanced life he could be induced to speak of Indian warfare, the old man would say, "there is nothing like encouraging your men with a hurrah: I was always good at a hurrah;" and he was a soldier that not only cheered his men but led them. About a month after this, a party of British, Indians, and tories, penetrated from Canada, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Johnson-hall, the house built by Sir William, and of which I have shown you the picture. It was about a mile from the village of Johnstown, to the north. Colonel Willet marched from his garrison with three hundred men, on the 22d of August, determined to attack the invaders, although they amounted to at least six hundred, under the command of Major Ross, and the savage, Walter Butler. Ross advanced from his encampment with all his force, and met Willet with only two hundred men, he having detached Colonel Harper to make a circuit through the woods, and fall on the enemy's rear. At the first fire from this superiour force, Willet's men gave way, and fled to the hall,

where he endeavoured to rally them, but in vain. They retreated to the village, and here our brave colonel was joined by a body of two hundred militia. In the mean time, Harper had gained the rear of the enemy, and commenced an attack. Willet now advanced, and routed the barbarians, who were pursued through the wilderness for miles. The murderer of Cherry Valley, Walter Butler, was killed by an Oneida Indian during the pursuit. A party of this tribe (which had been uniformly on the American part) had joined in pursuing the routed enemy, and Butler, on horseback, reached the West Canada creek, and swam his horse over. One of the Oneidas was on the bank opposite to Butler, when he turned and defied his pursuers. The Indian discharged his rifle, and the murderer fell. "Throwing down his rifle and blanket," says Mr. Campbell, "the Indian plunged into the creek and swam across;" "he raised his tomahawk, and with a yell, sprang, like a tiger, upon his fallen foe; Butler supplicated for mercy;" the Oneida with uplifted weapon shouted in broken English, "Sherry Valley, Sherry Valley!" and then buried his tomahawk in the brain of his victim. "The place," Mr. Campbell, says, "is called Butler's ford to this day."

John. One cannot but rejoice in the death of such a man, when the massacre of Cherry Valley is remembered.

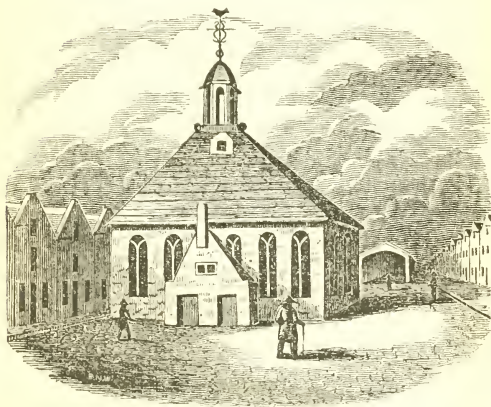
Wm. Had Col. Willet any more battles, Uncle?

Un. No. The defeat of Ross and Butler was his last fight; although in the winter of 1781-2, he sought danger by a hazardous expedition with a part of his garrison, passing up the Mohawk on the ice, and with snow shoes through the wilderness to Fort Oswego. But on arriving, he learned that the preliminaries of peace had been signed, and abandoned the enterprise.

Wm. When did Colonel Willet die?

Un. August 22d, 1830, on the anniversary of his victory over Ross and Butler. You will all read Mr. Campbell's Annals of Tryon county, and feel, as I do, much indebted to him for the information he has collected and communicated.

CHAPTER XXI.



Un. I here present you with a picture of the old Dutch church, in Albany, as it stood in the middle of the street, even as late as 1806, when I first saw that city. The picture is copied from Mr. John Fleming Watson's very pleasant publication on the old times of New York, and is engraved by Mr. White.

John. It was at Albany, I remember, that one of the original patroons settled upon a great territory.

Un. And his descendants still enjoy it. To the north of the town commenced the property of the "patroon," the title by which General Stephen Van Renselaer is still known in this district, and which he has endeared to the people by his virtues.

John. You have not told us much of Albany, sir?

Un. I have spoken to you of places and transactions to the north and west of that city. Happily for her she was never the scene of those conflicts which make up the great bulk of history. Threatened from the south and the north, the east and the west, her avowed enemies never reached her but as captives. At the time Burgoyne was the guest of Schuyler, Albany was, compared to its present state, a village; indeed, New York city was little more. Albany has long been a place of great importance as the seat of the legislature, and residence of the governors of the state. But at the time of which I treat, it was illustrious by the morals and manners of its inhabitants, more than by the splendour of its edifices. The Schuylers, Van Renselaers, and other descendants of the Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam, have, by their virtues, thrown a lustre around the city of Albany, brighter than any that can be derived from successful commerce, with all its attendant luxuries.

John. The winter of 1779-80, I have read of as the *hard winter*.

Un. It was. In New York great efforts were made to increase the depreciation of continental money, by manufacturing counterfeit bills, and during this winter the American army, quartered in their own country, were in a state of extreme suffering, being in want of clothing and food. The general describes his army as "men half-starved, imperfectly

clothed, riotous, and robbing the country people of their subsistence, from sheer necessity." The soldiers were reduced to half allowance of rations, and the general to the necessity of making requisitions upon each county of New Jersey for a stated quantity of meat and flour, to be delivered within six days; giving notice of the necessity which would oblige him to resort to coercion. "To the honour of the magistrates, and people of New Jersey," Judge Marshall says, "although their country was much exhausted, the supplies required were instantly furnished, and a temporary relief obtained." Amidst these distresses, a blow was aimed at the enemy on Staten Island. A bridge of ice gave opportunity for any force to pass from the main land, and it was supposed that the state of the harbour of New York would prevent re-enforcements being sent from thence. General Washington ordered a detachment of two thousand men, under Lord Stirling, to attempt a surprise of the troops on the island, principally consisting of Skinner's new corps, computed at twelve hundred men. The expedition was a failure. The enemy were found entrenched and prepared. The Tories of the neighbourhood would not allow their friends to be surprised. It was likewise found that a passage remained open for boats from New York to Staten Island, and that troops could be thrown across the bay. His lordship, under these circumstances, retreated with some loss, and many of his followers frostbitten. His army had been followed by the most licentious of the New Jersey borderers for the purpose of plunder, and the officers had, after their return, the task of rescuing part of the spoil, and returning it to the owners. This transaction took place in January. Afterward, the long continuance of severe cold closed the bay of New York, with solid ice, so that I remember to have seen a

troop of horse and artillery crossing to Staten Island on this immense bridge, which connected all our islands, one with the other, and with the main land.

John. Did this occasion distress in the garrison, sir?

Un. To the officers and soldiers some; to the inhabitants very great suffering. Wood was cut on the three islands by the military, and few trees escaped the axe that winter. But fuel and provisions were scarcely to be purchased by the citizens, even those who had the means of paying exorbitant prices. In many instances household furniture was broken up to supply the fire necessary to support life. From Cortlandt street to Powles Hook, I well remember the beaten track for sleighs and wagons, winding occasionally around, and between, the hills of ice; and a similar road was in use to Hoboken, from whence some wood was procured, by parties of soldiers sent over for the purpose. On the 17th of March, St. Patrick's day, I saw horsemen crossing the bay on the ice, but it was then considered dangerous; for it was open through the deeper part, or channel. The year 1780 produced a multitude of important events: I must refer you to general history for the successes of Sir Henry Clinton in the south. He returned to New York early in June, leaving Lord Cornwallis to command. In our neighbourhood, the sufferings of the continental army, and the depreciation of the paper money, which was of little worth when received as their pay, and which pay was always in arrears, caused discontent and mutiny. To take advantage of it, five thousand British and German troops crossed from Staten Island to Elizabethtown-point, under General Knyp-hausen. They landed in the night of the 6th of June, and immediately marched by Connecticut farms towards Springfield. The militia turned out and harassed the march of the invaders, who made

a halt at Connecticut farms, and under the orders of the magnanimous general in command, set fire to, and burnt the village. In the course of this military transaction, a soldier came up to the window of the clergyman's house, and bravely discharged his musket at the bosom of Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of the reverend gentleman, as she sat in the midst of her children with an infant in her arms. She instantly expired. After this exploit, the invaders proceeded to Springfield, but finding *there* one brigade of regular troops, and some militia, their progress was arrested. General Washington advanced with his army to "the short hills" back of Springfield, and made preparations for an engagement with the German general; but in the night he silently withdrew to the place of his disembarkation, followed by the execrations of a desolated district.

Wm. Such an expedition would not encourage the mutineers.

John. About this time there were important transactions in the Carolinas.

Un. For which I refer you to the historians; except those connected with the biography of General Gates. The affairs of the south demanded a re-enforcement from the main army, and after much delay, General Washington obtained the consent of congress to send on a detachment under the command of the Baron de Kalb. This German gentleman was a true friend to America, and to Washington. He had visited the colonies, and become attached to the people, some time before the war; and on hearing of the commencement of hostilities, left the service of France, and offered himself to congress. His character and talents gained him an appointment, much to the dissatisfaction of General Gates's friend Conway. The baron was carrying into effect a plan for the subsistence of his army, and the relief of the

country, when his operations were suspended by the arrival of Major Armstrong, Gates's aid-de-camp, who announced the approach of the general to take command in the south. Congress, misled, as the whole continent had been, by the factitious reputation Gates had acquired at the expense of General Schuyler, chose the hero of Saratoga as the opponent of his countryman, Cornwallis. In this appointment the commander-in-chief was not consulted, who, Judge Marshall says, had determined to recommend Greene. On the 25th of July, Gates took the command, and was received by De Kalb with cordiality and respect. Immediately on his arrival the English general ordered the army to prepare for a march, and in an opposite direction to that proposed by De Kalb. They moved on the 27th of July, and suffered extremely for necessary forage and provisions. At Clermont, Gates was joined by General Stevens, with seven hundred Virginia militia.

Wm. Uncle, what had become of Colonel Daniel Morgan?

Un. Morgan, after serving at the battle of Monmouth, and for some time after, had retired to his plantation in Virginia, which his neighbours called "Saratoga." When Gates was appointed to command the southern armies, he was authorized to call Colonel Morgan into service. Morgan sent in his resignation, July 18th; it was known that he required the rank of brigadier-general, which was given him. In his letters to Gates there is no appearance of dissatisfaction with him, and he expresses his pleasure that he had been appointed to the southern department rather than Lincoln. Letters of flattery and congratulation were poured in upon the hero of Saratoga, and fresh laurels predicted by his friend Conway, and many of more importance, among others by Doctor Rush.

John. I know that these predictions were not verified.

Un. The particulars of the unfortunate battle of Camden you will find in Marshall, and in Lee's southern campaign. Lord Cornwallis was on his march to attack Gates, and the Americans were on their march to take a stronger position, when the advance parties unexpectedly met. Both armies formed, and battle ensued. The militia could not stand the charge of the British, but fled, and General Gates, after making ineffectual attempts to stop them, and *believing that the continental troops had likewise dispersed*, continued his retreat eighty miles from the field of battle, before halting, and then removed one hundred miles further.

Wm. Did the regular troops continue the battle, sir?

Un. Yes. Deserted by their general, they fought but too long. The brave De Kalb sunk under eleven wounds, and exhausted his last breath in praise of his comrades, and blessings on the country he bled for. Never was victory more complete. Hundreds of the brave were killed, and many taken prisoners, while the cowards were secured by the sacrifice. All the baggage, artillery, and stores, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Wm. Morgan was not with Gates at this time, sir, was he?

Un. No; but many as good as he. I will finish all I ought to say of the southern war, while giving lessons *respecting New York*, by some further notice of Daniel Morgan. General Gates continued for a time in command of the south after this disaster; and Morgan, now a brigadier-general, applied to him, about the 12th of September, for permission, with a detachment, to move into the neighbourhood of Cornwallis, who had broke up from his

encampment. Morgan was confident that he could strike a blow at Tarleton, and his friends solicited Gates to permit him to move against the enemy, but Gates took no notice of the applications. When Greene superseded Gates, Morgan again applied for such a command, and received it. The battle of the Cowpens was the result.

Wm. O, Uncle! tell us of that battle.

Un. I will let Morgan tell it himself. Here is a true copy of an unpublished letter from Daniel to a friend, and I delight to see the very words in which such men tell their own stories. This letter reminds one of Starke's relation of the battle of Bennington. Read it, William.

Wm. "When you left me, you know I was desirous to have a stroke at Tarleton; my wishes are gratified, and I have given him a devil of a whipping—a more complete victory never was." He then states the force with which Greene detached him, viz.: three hundred regulars, one hundred militia, and Colonel Washington's cavalry, ninety; giving him "orders discretionary. With this detachment I marched over the Broad river, and gained the left flank of Cornwallis's army; which you'll think gave him some uneasiness." The day after, hearing of a body of two hundred and fifty Tories, he sent Colonel Washington after them, who killed and wounded one hundred and fifty, and brought off forty prisoners, without losing a man. "On this," he says, "Lord Cornwallis detached Tarleton, with nine hundred chosen troops, the flower of his army, with his legion, on the west side of Broad river, to attack me in front, while General Leslie marched upon the east side to cut off my retreat. I saw I was pursued by three armies, each vastly superiour to mine. I collected about five hundred militia, (three of which fought, the others ran away;) with this little army I

moved up Pacolet river, west of Cornwallis. The three armies followed me like bloodhounds; Tarleton was foremost in the chase. On the 17th instant," November, "my spies came in about two hours before day, and told me that the enemy was within five miles of me, marching very rapidly. I did not intend to fight that day; but intended to cross Pacolet early that morning to a strong piece of ground, and then decide the matter. But as matters were circumstanced, no time was to be lost, and I prepared for battle as soon as the day broke; and had just time to form a disposition when they hove in sight. They formed in one line, raised a prodigious yell, and came running at us as if they intended to eat us up. However, we sustained the charge. The conflict was severe indeed, for about forty minutes, in which time their over numbers had gained both our flanks. We then had no alternative but to charge them with bayonets, which we did," "and made them give way. At that time Tarleton was cutting the militia on our left, and nearly in our rear." Colonel Washington with his regiment "of ninety men charged the whole of Tarleton's cavalry, and put them to flight, killing a number. In the mean time, we followed up our blows till we took their field-pieces, when every man took to his heels for security, helter skelter; we were too swift for them—killed, wounded, and took prisoners one thousand veteran troops; one thousand stand of arms; two field-pieces; thirty-five wagons; and immense baggage, and entirely broke up Tarleton's legion." Well done, old Daniel Morgan!

John. But two other detachments were in pursuit of him.

Un. Both which he eluded. In the charge of cavalry, it so chanced that Tarleton and two of his officers were close upon Washington, at the moment

alone. Tarleton discharged both his pistols, and both took effect on Washington's horse. Two American horsemen encountered the officers, and the English cavalry flying, Tarleton escaped by the fleetness of his horse. This was the crowning exploit of our old friend Daniel Morgan, a man of giant-like bodily strength, and undaunted courage. He in after times stood ready to fight for his country, and served her in other capacities than that of warrior. He died on the 6th of July, 1802.

John. He was a true hero of the revolution.

Un. Now let us return to the history of New York. One of the most prominent events in our neighbourhood at this time, was the treason of Arnold. With that is included the patriotism of Paulding, Van Wert, and Williams, and the execution of Major John Andre, the British adjutant-general, as a spy. As I have seen Mr. Sparks's Biography of Arnold in your hands, I can give you no further information on the subject. But, as an event in New York history, I must mention the prominent points of the affair. General Arnold, though a brave man, and possessed of talents beyond mediocrity, was selfish and sordid. He was extravagant in his expenditures, and after his marriage felt the pecuniary necessity which every man must feel, who does not limit his expenses to his resources; and having neither principle nor religion to restrain him, he determined upon seizing the first opportunity that offered, to become rich by the sacrifice of his country. He had been justly censured for illegal proceedings in Philadelphia, and he flattered himself, and there is reason to believe, that his wife flattered him, by representing his country as ungrateful, unjust, and unworthy of liberty. He entered into correspondence with the enemy; and manœuvred to obtain the command at West Point, for the purpose of betray-

ing that important post, its stores, and garrison, to the English. Thus prepared, he took advantage of the absence of General Washington, (who had gone to Rhode Island to concert measures with Count Rochambeau for the service,) and having matured his plan of treason in conjunction with Major Andre, the latter came up the river in a ship of war, landed, and was met by Arnold, (without the American posts,) who gave him inventories of the stores, information of the strength and weakness of the forts, settled the mode of delivering up the post, and pointed out the disposition to be made of the garrison, so as to yield them a prey to the enemy; and perhaps Washington with them.

Wm. Some to be prisoners, and some killed! Sold for money! Oh, Uncle—can men do so?

Un. Well may you ask, boy. On the 25th of September, 1780, General Washington returned to West Point, and found that Arnold had fled, and Andre had been secured as a spy. Andre, as you have read, was taken in disguise, as he was returning to New York, having, by what men call accident, been disappointed in getting aboard the ship that brought him, and contrary to his intention carried within our lines. Arnold received notice of his capture in time to save himself; and with the barge belonging to the fort, boarded the English ship. Major Andre was tried, condemned as a spy, and as such executed; every attention being paid to his unhappy situation that could with propriety be allowed, and much sympathy felt for his sufferings.

John. Sir Henry Clinton tried to save him.

Un. Yes. And Arnold had the insolence to use threats, and attempt to justify his own conduct. But the firmness of Washington was not to be shaken. He executed the spy; and *Sir Henry Clinton* re-

warded the traitor, by riches, military rank, and the command of armies.

John. It appears strange, sir, that Sir Henry Clinton should entrust a traitor with the lives and liberty of armies as he did.

Un. I will mention a fact relative to that subject, which is yet unknown to the world. A gentleman of the most unblemished character, now far advanced in years, assured me, that when Arnold departed from New York in the command of the army with which he committed depredations in the Chesapeake, "a dormant commission" was given to Colonels Dundas and Simcoe, jointly, by Sir Henry Clinton, authorizing them, if they suspected Arnold of sinister intent, to supersede him, and put him in arrest. This proves that Clinton did not trust him, and we may reasonably suppose that such a watch was set upon his conduct on other occasions.

John. Is this a fact to be relied upon, sir?

Un. Most fully. The gentleman who communicated it to me, was in his youth a confidential clerk in Sir Henry Clinton's office, and copied and delivered the dormant commission as directed. This explains a passage in Clinton's letter to his government, in which he says, "this detachment is under the command of General Arnold, with whom I have thought it right to send Colonels Dundas and Simcoe, as being officers of experience, and much in my confidence." Connected with this expedition to the south, is the romantick adventures of Sergeant-major Champe, which you will find detailed in the memoirs of the American Lee, the same who surprised the post of Powles Hook.

Wm. If it belongs to New York, I hope you will give us at least an abridgement of the story.

Un. You will all read Lee's Memoirs of the war in the southern department; but as this story of Ser-

geant Champe belongs particularly to New York, I must tell it. While the fate of Andre was still in suspense, General Washington determined, if it was possible to get possession of Arnold, he would make *him* the victim, and use his influence to spare the life of the young officer who had unintentionally placed himself in the situation of a spy. He sent for, and consulted Major Lee. The plan proposed was for a trusty and intelligent man to present himself as a deserter to the enemy, and enlist in the corps that was then forming under Arnold's particular patronage; and then by the aid of certain persons in New York with whom Washington corresponded, to seize the traitor, and bring him off to a party on the west side of the Hudson, who should be ready to receive him. Lee mentioned the sergeant-major of his legion as being a man fit for the enterprise, but feared that his sense of honour, and the expectations he had of receiving a commission, would prevent his consenting even to *appear* in the character of a deserter. The general commissioned Lee to give assurances that he would stand between the sergeant and disgrace, and advanced every argument that could be suggested to engage him in the enterprise. Lee departed, furnished with full instructions, and letters to the agents in New York who were to join in the attempt. After a long conference with Champe, the major prevailed upon the sergeant to undertake the execution of the scheme; and as no time was to be lost, he immediately prepared himself and his horse for the perilous expedition. Champe entered into the plan, as it proved, with all his soul. That very night, having made himself master of Washington's instructions, (one of which was in no case to take the life of Arnold, as that would be interpreted assassination, whereas a solemn sacrifice of the criminal was the object to

be attained,) he a little before midnight withdrew his horse from the picket, and with his cloak, sword, valise, and orderly book, mounted to pursue his way to Powles Hook, by such routes as his experience suggested to be best for avoiding patrols or scouting parties. Scarcely half an hour had elapsed when Lee's lieutenant brought him information that a patrol had fallen in with a dragoon, who on being challenged had clapped spurs to his horse and escaped. The subaltern was all impatience for orders to send off men in pursuit, and the major tried by every device to delay such an unwelcome procedure. He feigned the dulness of a man awakened from sound sleep, although his anxiety had prevented any approach to that state; he affected to believe that it could not be a dragoon; or if one, that his intention was not desertion. The lieutenant pressed the matter—paraded the troop, and showed that one was missing, and *that one* Sergeant-major Champe. "I have ordered a party for pursuit," added the zealous officer, "and they only await your orders." Lee delayed as long as possible; but orders must be given, and the dragoons were spurred on to overtake the supposed deserter by every motive which the honour of the corps could suggest. The leader of the pursuers was nominated by Lee; he was sent for and received his orders. This was a young cornet. Off the party dashed, leaving the major in a state of extreme anxiety. About three o'clock in the afternoon Lee was called from his tent by the shouts of his soldiers, and he saw the cornet approaching with his party, one of the dragoons leading the sergeant-major's well-known horse, with his cloak, sword-scabbard, and other accoutrements. That Champe was dead, and that he had occasioned his death, was the heart-rending thought this appearance suggested to Lee.

The cornet reported that they had traced the deserter during the night by the marks of his horse's shoes, left on the road owing to a recent shower of rain. (The shoes of the dragoon horses were unlike others.) That at daybreak he continued with more speed in the chase, and as he approached Bergen gained sight of Champe, who likewise saw his pursuers. At the village of Bergen, the sergeant-major, after riding through several devious streets, took the road to the right, determining to make for some British galleys that he knew were stationed near the shore, and not approach Powles Hook, as was first intended. This change of course baffled the cornet for a time; but gaining information from a countryman who had seen a dragoon spurring out of the village, the party again pushed forward upon the track of the fugitive. When in sight of the galleys, Champe made a halt, tied his valise (which contained the orderly book, his clothes, money, &c.) to his shoulders, drew his sword, and again spurred for the shore. This momentary halt brought his pursuers within a few hundred yards of him. When near the marshy edge of the water, the sergeant dismounted, rushed through the sedge, threw himself into the water, and called on the galleys for help. A boat was launched to receive the deserter, (as no one could doubt him to be,) and some guns were fired to keep off his pursuers. The report of the party who had returned with the sergeant-major's horse, cloak, scabbard, and accoutrements, eased Major Lee of his apprehensions for the safety of Champe.

John. Nothing could have happened better, for giving credit to the story Champe would tell the enemy.

Un. The account given by the commander of the galleys of what he had witnessed, would be an ample credential for the sergeant. He was examined by

Sir Henry Clinton, received with favour, found an opportunity to communicate with the agents of Washington residing in New York; and to further the plan, enlisted in Arnold's legion.

John. Had Washington many friends in the city who gave him intelligence?

Un. Several. And they were in some instances unknown to each other. One of those to whom Champe was introduced, prepared every thing for seizing and carrying off the traitor; Champe communicated his progress to Lee, who by the general's orders prepared to receive Arnold. In the mean time, Andre was condemned and executed. Therefore the only end in view by the capture of Arnold was his punishment. Champe gave notice to Major Lee, that being appointed one of the recruiting sergeants for Arnold's legion, he had every necessary opportunity for the execution of the plan. Adjoining to the garden of the house in which Arnold resided was an alley, and by removing some of the palings, and replacing them in apparent security, the conspirators were to enter, guided by Champe, seize their intended victim when he returned, as was his invariable custom, at midnight, from his visits of business or pleasure, and retired to the garden. They were to gag him, carry him off through the alley, and to a boat prepared and lying at a wharf of the north river. If questioned, they were to represent him as a drunken soldier whom they were conveying to the guard house. Washington ordered Lee to be ready on the opposite shore to receive Arnold, and prevent any personal injury to him. The major repaired at night to the appointed place, with a party of dragoons. Hour after hour passed; but no boat approached. The day broke, and with the led horses prepared for Champe and his prisoner, Lee returned to camp. In a few days

he was informed by the agent in New York, that on the day previous to the appointed night, Arnold had removed his quarters to be near the place of embarkation for the expedition to the Chesapeake; and that the legion, to which Champe was attached, had been shipped among the first of the troops for fear of the men deserting. Thus the sergeant-major was entrapped, and instead of crossing the Hudson with his general as a prisoner, was carried off to Virginia, and employed in warfare against his countrymen. From this unwelcome service he found means to free himself, and when Lee's legion was acting against Cornwallis in the south, the sergeant-major most unexpectedly joined his old comrades, and the mystery of his flight, with the whole story, being soon known, he was received by the corps with applause and welcome.

Wm. Tell us, sir; what became of this daring man?

Un. He was forwarded by General Greene to the commander-in-chief, who rewarded him; and as his remaining in service might subject him to death if taken prisoner, he was honourably discharged. He settled as a planter in his native state, but late in life removed to Kentucky, and there died.

John. I should like very much, sir, to know the house in which Arnold resided, and the alley by which Champe meant to convey him to the gallows.

Un. I have had the same curiosity, but have not been able to gratify it. The gentleman who gave me the information respecting the "dormant commission" given to Dundas and Simcoe, could not satisfy me on this point. He thought that Arnold had not a house appropriated to him at this time, but quartered with some other officers. My conjecture would fix the spot for his dwelling-place either in Hanover square, with the paling fence opening on

Sloat alley; or in Smith street, with the fence on Jews alley. Mr. John Fleming Watson, who has published a very interesting book on the old times of New York, says, "Mr. Robert Lenox thought he (Arnold) lived with Admiral Digby." This agrees with my supposition, that the house from which Champe plotted to remove him, was in Hanover square with the fence on Sloat alley. If so, it was the great Beekman house, and the usual residence of the admirals; there, the present king of England resided when on shore, as a midshipman. But Mr. Watson could obtain no definite information on the subject, and now both the houses I have mentioned are swept from the face of the city, and the earth, by the great fire of December, 1835.

CHAPTER XXII.

John. From this time forward the principal events of the war occurred in the south, sir?

Un. General Washington had determined to take command there: and in conjunction with the French troops under Rochambeau, the plan of operations against Lord Cornwallis was carried into execution. But Arnold, who was again in New York, was despatched by Sir Henry against New London, early in September, as if to call the attention of the American general to that quarter. New London is on the borders of Long Island sound, and on the west side of the mouth of the river Thames; on the same side was a fort called after the governor, Trumbull, and on the opposite side another fort, called Griswold, was commanded by Colonel Ledyard, an inhabitant of New London. Arnold land-

ed, and marched against Fort Trumbull, which was abandoned on his approach. He had ordered Colonel Eyre to land on the east side of the river and attack Fort Griswold. Colonel Ledyard refused to surrender, and the British stormed the fort, and entered the embrasures with fixed bayonets. The Americans ceased resistance, and Ledyard delivered his sword to the commanding officer. Governor Trumbull, in his letter to General Washington, says, "the sword presented by Colonel Ledyard was immediately plunged into his bosom, and the carnage was kept up until the greater part of the garrison was killed or wounded."

John. Was this the act of Colonel Eyre?

Un. No. He fell in the assault, as did second in command, with two hundred of the assailants. Arnold, himself a New London man, burnt the town, and all that was combustible in it, and returned to New York covered with military glory. This expedition did not arrest the great plan of Washington upon the south, which, by the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, in fact terminated the war.

Wm. Did General Gates join the army again, sir?

Un. O, yes; and I have to show you that in his last transactions with Washington he was unchanged.

Wm. But there were more battles, sir, more fighting?

Un. None that produced any effect except to increase individual misery; and in our neighbourhood no military movements, unless we dignify by that name the predatory war carried on by tories and refugees. One of these transactions, in its consequences, agitated the country very strongly, and even caused a sensation beyond sea. This I must relate to you. In the year 1782, there occurred an atrocious murder, sanctioned by the authority of William Frank-

lin, who had been, as I have told you, the king's governor of New Jersey. I will tell you the story of Captain Huddy. I have before remarked to you the great advantages the province of Connecticut possessed in having a governor of her own choice, and other officers, instead of being, like New York and New Jersey, ruled over by men appointed by England. The evils Connecticut experienced during the war were from open hostility and invasion; her towns were burnt in common with those of the other states, and her brave sons fell in battle as elsewhere; but they were united. Their governor and magistrates directed their actions as they had done before the contest commenced; while the magistrates placed over New Jersey and New York by England, raised the torch of discord among the inhabitants of those states, and with the cry of "loyalty" and "government" in their mouths, encouraged all those atrocities which make the sanguinary struggles of "civil war," so peculiarly disgusting. Tryon of New York, and Franklin of New Jersey, by encouraging England with false representations, to commence and continue the war, stirring up the tories, and arming neighbour against neighbour, were the causes of scenes at which humanity revolts. Besides the corps raised by Delancy and Skinner, there were bands called "Associated Loyalists," who were under the direction of a "Board," of which William Franklin was the president. These banded tories were even more lawless and ferocious in their predatory warfare than the "New Corps," and were held in greater detestation by their former neighbours. They had fled from their homes, seduced by the king's troops, and found themselves deprived of property, disappointed in their hopes, considered as traitors by their early associates, and as inferiours by their English friends. They had received and

inflicted personal injuries; and the bitterness of warfare was increased by every selfish and malignant passion.

John. This was a terrible state, sir. Did it exist more in New Jersey than elsewhere?

Un. I believe to a greater degree in that part adjacent to Sandy Hook, than elsewhere, except in the Carolinas. If I were to mention the murder of Colonel Hayne, or other southern events, I must go into some account of the transactions; which, as I confine myself to the neighbourhood of New York, I cannot do, and must refer you for information to more ample historians. The British had control of the sea and rivers. The agents of the avowed tories were spread among the inhabitants of New Jersey. The predatory parties came freely from New York and penetrated the country. They were instigated by disappointment to vengeance against the rebels. On the other hand, an independent government having been established, with magistrates elected by the people, when the secret agents of the enemy were discovered residing among them, and acting as spies, or guides, or emissaries for recruiting, they were justly apprehended, and if convicted, suffered death. Such, on the other hand, were considered as meritorious loyalists by the board of refugees in New York; and Franklin declared that it was "*only the loyal* who were treated as rebels and traitors." I will briefly tell the story of Captain Huddy, as elucidating this state of things.

Wm. Was Huddy an inhabitant of that part of New Jersey?

Un. Yes; and early in the war took up arms for his country. In the course of the contest he had assisted in apprehending traitors who resided among the people, and acted as emissaries of the enemy; and he avowed that in one instance he had assisted

at the execution of a man legally condemned for treason. In the spring of 1782, Captain Huddy was stationed for the defence of a place called Tom's river, and had command of a few men, and an unfinished rude blockhouse. He was attacked by a very superiour party of the refugees, or loyalists, sent from New York to destroy this post, which was in the way of their plundering expeditions. Huddy and his small garrison defended themselves bravely, but in vain; they were overpowered, part killed, and the remainder, with the captain, taken to New York. This was in the month of April. After one night's confinement in the "main guard," (that is the dungeon or prison of the City hall in Wall street,) the prisoners were crowded into the "Sugar house." But it appears that in this place they were not so completely under the control of Franklin, and the "Board of Associated Loyalists," and were therefore removed to the "Provost."

John. The old jail.

Un. Here they were under our old acquaintance, Captain William Cunningham, the Irish bully at the liberty pole fights, and now the British provost-marshal.

John. Captain Huddy was a regular prisoner of war it appears, sir?

Un. Certainly; and had been hitherto treated as such. But during his confinement a party of refugees had been made prisoners, and one of them (Philip White) attempting to escape from the horsemen who guarded them, was killed. This was represented in New York by the enemy as an intended and barbarous murder, and seems to have given rise to the determination of Governor Franklin, and his associates. A captain of refugees, named Lippincot, was found ready to execute the designs of the Board

of Loyalists, even without a written order from Franklin; it appearing that prisoners had been before given up by Captain Cunningham to the ex-governor's agents, on an order from the secretary of the board, with very little ceremony, and no reluctance.

John. This looks strange and black.

Un. I could not have believed it, but that it appears fully proved on the trial of Lippincot, which is before the publick. While Huddy rested as content as his fellow prisoners, in the provost, he was demanded by Lippincot, delivered up with two others by Cunningham, put on board a vessel, irons screwed to his hands and feet, and on asking the reason of this treatment, he was told that they were taking him down to the Hook to be hanged. He was received on board a British armed vessel, until Lippincot had made his arrangements. A British commander in his majesty's navy furnished the rope. This prisoner of war was taken on shore, a gallows was prepared, under which he was placed on a barrel, and a negro performed the part of executioner, under direction of Lippincot. The barrel was knocked away, and the body of Huddy, who died, as they said, "like a lion," left for the contemplation of his neighbours, with a paper affixed to it, which had been prepared before Lippincot received his orders from the board of associated loyalists.

Wm. What was on this paper, sir?

Un. "Up goes Huddy for Philip White." This atrocious murder caused a demand from General Washington that the perpetrator should be given up; and a notification that if this justice should be refused, a prisoner of equal rank with Huddy must be sacrificed, to prevent a recurrence of such disgraceful acts. In consequence of this demand, Lippincot was confined under the care of his friend

Cunningham, tried for the murder, and acquitted. It appears that he was considered to be authorized by the orders of Franklin, and the board of loyalists.

John. This must have caused violent irritation at the time, sir?

Un. The neighbours of Huddy were, as you suppose, violently agitated. A bold party, headed by Captain Hyler of Brunswick, determined to seize Lippincot, even in the heart of the garrison of New York. They ascertained the place of his residence, which was in Broad street, and disguised as English men-of-war's-men, they embarked near the Hook, landed boldly in New York, and proceeded to the house of their intended victim; but they were disappointed. The refugee captain was absent, gambling at a cock-pit. The party, of course, could not attack him there, nor remain long in their perilous situation; but returned safe and undiscovered.

John. What was done further, sir?

Un. The demand of General Washington not being complied with, all the captains of the British army who were prisoners of war were brought together, and required to draw lots to determine which of them should die. The lot fell on a youth of nineteen, a favourite among them all, and every eye, British or American, was filled with tears, as the young victim recognized his doom. His name was Asgil. You will see in Judge Marshall's history that great intercession was made to save this young man; and as, happily, the termination of the war was known to be near, he was spared.

John. If Lippincot was not a murderer, because he acted under the orders of Governor Franklin, who was the murderer?

Un. There is a mysterious atrocity brought to light by the trial of Lippincot, which, if it had not been published by the honourable men who com-

posed the court, all English officers, or Americans in the service of England, I could not have believed. It appears that William Franklin, as chief, or president of the board of associated loyalists, had authority from some quarter (or he knew that he would be upheld by some supreme power in so doing) to take from the provost-marshal any prisoner he chose, and commit him to men who were ready to obey the ex-governor of New Jersey, in any act of murder. The testimony of Cunningham, and others, received and believed by the court, proves this. And although there is no proof adduced on this trial (and probably it would be avoided) that others were murdered as Huddy had been, but with less publicity, it is difficult not to infer that such had been the case. That Franklin and the board of refugees had this power, is proved; that it was exercised on Huddy is undeniable; and that neither Franklin, nor any other of his confederates, were called to account for it, is on record.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Un. Notwithstanding the strenuous exertions of Lord Chatham for the subjugation of the United States, the English parliament resolved, "that the house would consider as enemies to his majesty, and the country, all those who should advise or attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." Instructions were sent to Sir Guy Carleton, (who had now taken up his quarters in Kennedy's house, No. 1, Broadway, as the successor of Sir Henry Clinton,) to use his en-

deavours for carrying into effect the wishes of Great Britain for an accommodation with America.

John. Who negotiated the peace, sir?

Un. The commissioners on our part were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens; on the part of England, Messrs. Fitzherbert and Oswald. On the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles were agreed upon, which were to be inserted in a treaty of peace, by which the independence of the United States was acknowledged in the most ample manner. But now came a severe trial for the man who had passed through so many trials for the good of his country. The army of the United States was to be dissolved, and the arrears due it was not forthcoming. For the honour of his country, as well as its peace, General Washington was desirous that his companions in arms should submit to the necessity imposed by unavoidable circumstances, accept of the promises made by the yet unsettled government, and retire to their employments with untarnished laurels. But here, as throughout his life, he met the malign influence of those who had endeavoured to thwart the efforts of a good providence and its agents, in every stage of the contest for self-government. Without further comment, I will state some facts, and give you some extracts from letters to read.

John. I should have expected that the troubles of Washington were over.

Un. The good man, as well as the good principle, must struggle against evil to the last. In December, 1782, many of the officers being apprehensive that they should be disbanded before their accounts were liquidated, drew up a memorial, and deputed General McDougall, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks, to wait upon congress with it. This produced favourable resolutions. Subsequent-

ly a report was circulated, by an incendiary, that congress did not mean to comply with the resolves they had published in favour of the army. This brought out an address to that body, signed by many officers, in which they ask for money, for settlement of accounts, and security for what is due. They say that their condition is wretched, and call on congress to show the world that the independence of America is not to be based on the ruin of any particular class of citizens. This address produced resolves *that* the superintendant of finance make such payment as circumstances will permit, and that the several states be called upon to make immediate settlements with their respective divisions of the army; *that* the army, as well as other creditors, have a right to security for what shall be found due, and that congress will make every exertion to obtain funds from the respective states.

John. I understand that the power of congress was very limited.

Un. They could do very little more than *recommend* to the states, who, now that immediate pressure from without was about to be withdrawn, might be expected to fall off from that union which danger produced. The negotiations continued some time, and General McDougall remained at Philadelphia. Colonel Ogden appears to have been there part of the time, as we shall see by Major Armstrong's letters to General Gates.

John. Major Armstrong was Gates's aid-de-camp, I remember.

Un. While this perturbed state was kept up in the army, and increased as the day of separation was supposed to approach, an anonymous letter was circulated among the officers, most artfully calculated to exasperate passion, and produce the most fatal consequences.

John. Can you give us the substance of the letter, sir?

Un. Justice can only be done to the talents of the author by reading the whole, which is preserved in the general history of the time; but I have made an abstract, which you may now read.

John. “‘March 10, 1783.’ The author assumes the character of a veteran who had suffered with those he addresses. He tells them that to be tame in their present situation would be more than weakness, and must ruin them forever. He bids them ‘suspect the man who would advise to more moderation, and longer forbearance.’ He then describes the high state in which the country has been placed by their services. And says, ‘does this country reward you with tears of gratitude and smiles of admiration, or does she trample on your rights, disdain your cries, and insult your distresses?’ He advises them to carry their appeal from the justice, to the fears of the government. ‘Assume a bolder tone,’ say, ‘that the slightest indignity from congress now must operate like the grave, and part you from them forever.’ That if peace takes place, ‘nothing shall separate’ you ‘from your arms but death: if war continues, that you will retire to some unsettled country, with Washington at your head, and mock at the distresses of government.’ The insidious expression of ‘courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of their illustrious leader,’ was calculated to make the army believe that Washington would join them in rebellion against his country, and was certainly a bold artifice, coming, as it did, from one in constant correspondence with General Gates, and attached to him both by inclination and office. It was likewise an expression which called for decided action from the commander-in-chief.” You speak here as if the author of the anonymous letters was known, sir.

Un. It was long suspected to be Major Armstrong, and late in life acknowledged by him. He attempted to justify himself, by saying that they were written "at the solicitation of his friends, as the chosen organ, to express the sentiments of the officers of the army, and were only an honest and manly, though, perhaps, indiscreet endeavour, to support publick credit, and do justice to a long-suffering, patient, and gallant soldiery." However willing I should be to attribute this "indiscreet endeavour" to pure motives, yet, when the gentleman goes so far as to assert that "the slander propagated and believed for half a century, that two distinguished officers of the revolution had conspired to put down the commander-in-chief, is an impudent and vile falsehood from beginning to end," I am obliged, with the evidence of this conspiracy before me, to hesitate, before I exonerate the writer of the letter in question from blame. The commander-in-chief noticed the anonymous address in orders, with pointed disapprobation, and requested that the general and field officers, with a proper representation from the staff of the army, would assemble on the 15th instant, to hear the report of the committee deputed by the army to congress. This request was seized upon, and represented in a second paper as giving sanction to the proceedings of the officers, and they were called upon to act with energy. On the 15th of March, the commander-in-chief addressed the convention of officers, (General Gates being the chairman,) in the language of truth, feeling, and affection. He overthrew all the artifices of the anonymous writer and his friends, one of the principal of whom sat in the chair. Washington noticed the advice to *mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation.* He feelingly spoke of his own constant attention, from the commencement of the war, to the wants and suffer-

ings of the army, and then pointed out the dreadful consequences of following the advice of the anonymous writer, *either to draw their swords against their country, or to retire, if war continues, from the defence of all they hold dear.* He calls to mind the scenes in which they have acted together, and pledges himself to the utmost exertion for obtaining justice to his fellows in arms. He requests them to rely on the promise of congress. He said, "I conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the rights of humanity," "to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of your country; and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood."

John. And General Gates had to sit and hear this.

Un. Yes; after having been sheltered from an inquiry into his conduct, and restored to his command, he sat and heard this—nay, he had to hear more. The convention resolved, unanimously, among other things, that "the army have unshaken confidence in congress, and view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the *infamous propositions* contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army."

John. But if this was unanimous, General Gates joined in it.

Un. With how much sincerity, let these extracts from Major Armstrong's letters to him testify. William, read them.

Wm. "Extracts from letters in the Historical Library, written by John Armstrong at Philadelphia, to General Gates, in April, 1783. After acknowledgment of letters, he mentions a plan agitated, to grant land in Muskingum to the army, and form a new state. This, he says, is intended 'to amuse and

divert the army from the consideration of more important concerns.' In another letter he thanks Gates for cautioning him not to leave his papers exposed to curious and inquisitorial eyes. The general remembered the letter of Conway to himself. He says, 'Ogden is now here,' at Philadelphia, from the army, 'and, as he conceals nothing, he tells us a great deal. Among other things, it is said, that the army look back with horror and regret upon the mistaken step they have taken,' (previous to Washington's address to them,) 'and like contemptible penitents who have sinned beyond the prospect of salvation, wish to have to do it over again. It is now, however, too late—the soldiers are anxious to disperse; no ties, no promises, will hold them longer, and with them will every loitering hope of *ours* break also.' He prophesies civil war, and exclaims, 'Can it be otherwise? Will the whigs who have lent their money—and will the men who have lent their time and blood to America, sit down quietly under their wants and their wretchedness? A dissolution of all *debts*, of all *credits*, of every principle of union and society, must and will follow. And suffer me to ask, where will it stop? God in his anger gave them a king; and we want a scourge.' 'One secret, however, Ogden tells me which shall be no longer so. Mr. Brooks was sent from hence with orders to break sentiments like those contained in the anonymous address to the officers, and to prepare their minds for some manly vigorous association with the publick creditors; but the timid wretch discovered it to the only man, from whom he was to have kept it, and concealed it from those to whom he had engaged to make it known. To be more explicit, he betrayed it to the commander-in-chief, who, agreeably to the original plan, was not to have been consulted till some later period. Such a villain!—

I would have written again had I not seen the impotency of the army, and the assurance of congress. They see our weakness, and laugh at our resentments.' "

Un. You need read no more. I have now come to the conclusion of the war, and the establishment of independence. I will cease my lessons, and point out to you the books you must study for the more full understanding of our history.

Wm. One more lesson, Uncle. You know in New York the first president was inaugurated; and you have not told us of the entry of Washington, on the 25th of November, and, a great deal more.

Un. Well, let us take our walk, and to-morrow I must conclude my lessons on the history of New York.

CHAPTER XXIV.

John. It would be curious, sir, to see the names of the friends of Washington arranged in one column, and the adherents of Gates in another.

Un. It would. You might then see the names of Greene and Lafayette opposite to Mifflin and Conway; those of the two brave Germans, De Kalb and Steuben, opposed to Clajon and La Radiere; Henry Lee opposite to Charles Lee; Alexander Hamilton opposite to Aaron Burr; and Philip Schuyler opposite to John Lovell;—in short, you would see a list of opposites, such as no historian has yet presented.

John. You, sir, saw the triumph of Washington?

Un. As I remember seeing, when a child, nine years of age, the British fleet proudly entering the harbour of Sandy Hook, so do I remember, as a



youth of seventeen, the forces of Britain, and her splendid navy, covering the bay of New York on their departure, never again to enter as enemies between the islands that guard our harbour. The same day I saw Washington enter the city, from which he had been driven by an overwhelming force in 1776, accompanied, in 1783, by applauding friends, and two regiments of as well appointed and disciplined troops as any in the world. In 1789, I saw him (divested of the garb of war) place his hand on the Bible, and swear to support that constitution under which I have since lived happily half a century. Between the pillars of the old City Hall, in Wall street, as altered for the reception of the federal congress, in view of thousands who filled the Broad street, as far as the eye could extend its view, and every avenue within sight of the building, the man of the people's choice was announced to them as the first president of the United States of America. This day the seal was set to our constitution, and from that day we date the prosperity of our country. But I have gone beyond my bounds—I intended to finish my history of New York, for you, at the triumphant entry of her citizens after seven years exile; and the departure of hostile foreigners from our shores.

Wm. But, Uncle, I have heard that this return of our citizens took place in the autumn of 1783. You will tell us of that?

John. But before that, I wished to ask you, how the American troops and the exiled inhabitants of New York behaved to the inhabitants who remained in the town during the long occupancy by the British?

Un. I will answer your question first, and then speak of Washington's interview with his officers, at the time of taking leave. There had been a long interval between the cessation of hostilities and the

departure of the British troops, and during *that*, many of the refugees who were obnoxious to particular resentment, removed to England or Nova Scotia. There was constant intercourse between the city and every part of the country. Old intimacies were renewed. The asperities of times past were softened down. The one party were good-humoured, because successful, and the other accommodating, because power had departed from them, and their safety depended upon their reconciliation to those crowned with success. So that by the time the English fleet and army departed, there was little to fear on the one part, and a general disposition on the other to forget and forgive. Some that remained may be supposed to have doubts and fears respecting men they had injured or abused; Rivington had been so bold in his misrepresentations of the *rebels*, and had been occasionally so personal, that although he had assurances from Governor Clinton of safety to his person and property, yet there were some few of the expected visitors that he did not wish to see; and foremost of these was Ethan Allen. It was well understood by the friends of the king's printer, that no name could so shake him as that of the conqueror of Ticonderoga. However, for a long time, no Ethan Allen appeared, and Mr. Rivington was quietly and prosperously carrying on his business as a bookseller, at the corner of Pearl and Wall streets, aided by a countryman of his own, who looked up to him as one of the first of men, and always reverently called him "Master." The master and man were contrasts. The first, was a man of florid complexion, large proportions, and genteel appearance; always well-dressed, and powdered. His clerk was a shrivelled, dwarfish figure, remarkably neat in person, and precise in manner. He knew his master's dread of Allen, and sympathized with

him. I received from a friend Rivington's own account of the dreaded meeting; which he told with much humour. "I was sitting," he said, "after a good dinner, alone, with my bottle of Madeira before me, when I heard an unusual noise in the street, and a huzza from the boys. I was in the second story, and on stepping to the window saw a tall figure in tarnished regimentals, with large cocked-hat, and enormously long sword, followed by a crowd of boys, who occasionally cheered him with huzzas, of which he seemed insensible. He came up to my door and stopped; I could see no more—my heart told me it was Ethan Allen. I shut down the window, and retired behind my table and bottle. I was certain that the hour of reckoning was come. There was no retreat. Mr. Staples came in, paler than ever, and clasping his hands, said, 'Master! he has come!' 'I know it.' 'He entered the store, sir, and asked if James Rivington lived here? I answered, yes, sir. Is he at home? I will go and see, sir, I said; and now, Master, what is to be done? there he is, sir, in the store; and the boys peeping at him from the street.' I had made up my mind—I looked at the Madeira; possibly I took a glass—'Show him up,' I said. And I thought if such Madeira cannot mollify him he must be harder than adamant. There was a fearful moment of suspense. I listened;—I heard him on the stairs, and heard his long sword clanking on every step. In he stalked. 'Is your name James Rivington?' 'It is, sir; and no man could be more happy to see General Ethan Allen. Take a chair, sir, by the table; and after a glass of this Madeira—' He sat down and began, 'Sir, I come—' 'Not a word, General, till you take a glass,' and I filled 'Ten years old of my own keeping—another glass, sir; and then we will talk of old affairs.' Sir, we finished two bottles, and parted as

good friends as if nothing had ever happened to make us otherwise." Such was the meeting between two of the most irreconcilable whigs and tories; with others there was less apprehension, and no mediator needed. Respecting the farewell parting of Washington, and his officers, at New York, I will tell you all I know. At noon, on the 4th of December, the officers met at Francis's tavern, corner of Queen street and Broad street; a house known since for many years as a French boarding-house, the name of Queen street being changed to Pearl.

John. Was this a noted tavern, sir?

Un. It was, in those days; and its keeper, Samuel Francis, a man of dark complexion, was familiarly known as "Black Sam." This house was the quarters of the general, and when the officers had assembled, their beloved leader entered the room, and, after addressing them in a few words, he concluded, by saying, "I cannot come to each of you to take leave, but shall be obliged to you if you will come and take me by the hand." Knox, who had served with him from the commencement of hostilities, was the first to experience the parting grasp of the hero's hand; and, in turn, all present, in silence, pressed that hand which had guided a nation through the storms of war, and was destined to rule its destinies during an unknown futurity. Leaving the room, he passed through a line of his brave soldiers to Whitehall, where he entered the barge waiting for him. He turned to the assembled multitude, waved his hat, and thus bid them a silent adieu, as they then thought forever.

John. And when he returned to New York, he came as president of the United States, under our constitution, and passed through the happy country in one continued triumphal procession, formed by those whose happiness he had secured.

Un. This great event (of which we have spoken when we mentioned the first inauguration of a president of the United States, in the balcony of the Federal Hall, in Wall street) did not occur until 1789; and between 1783 and that year many important events took place; none, however, so momentous, as the calling a convention to rectify the defects of that powerless government, which, under the first confederacy, was held together by external pressure, and that ceasing with the war, symptoms of dissolution appeared. The convention produced, by compromise, a constitution based on those principles recommended by Washington. An indissoluble union, under one federal head; a sacred regard to publick justice; the adoption of a proper peace establishment; and the prevalence of a disposition among the people, inducing them to forget local prejudices, and to sacrifice individual advantages to the interest of the community. This has partly been done. Our country has prospered for half a century; and if she takes the advice of Washington to guard against foreign influence, she may flourish, a monument of the blessings resulting from self-government, for ages to come.

Wm. But what was done in this city, sir?

Un. When the constitution was adopted, we marched in a grand federal procession, to describe which would take days. Every profession and every trade joined, most of them carrying banners, and making a joyous show. Oxen were roasted, and we feasted in bowers erected on the meadows, where now Broome and the adjacent streets rest on the ashes of our fires, and the scattered remains of our rural feast.

John. But, Uncle, what became of General Schuyler?

Un. After being superseded by Gates, he demand-

ed and obtained a court martial. Acquitted with honour, his friend Washington solicited him again to take command; but self-respect forbade. 'To the end of his life he continued the servant of his country in civil departments. Under the old confederacy he was a member of congress. He aided to procure the adoption of the federal constitution, and under it served in the senate as a representative of New York. In 1797, he took leave of publick life; and died the 18th of November, 1804, aged seventy-one. Let America be grateful; and his native state remember him as among her first and best.

Wm. And what became of General Gates, sir?

Un. Soon after his defeat at Camden, he lost his only son, a fine young man, and his wife quickly followed. You have been told that he returned to the army, and *assisted* (as the French say) at the convention of officers who condemned the anonymous address. After the war, he married again, and purchased a life estate for himself and wife in the house and grounds, then Mr. Cruger's, near Bellevue, now a publick house, and called Rose-hill. He lived there to good old age, esteemed in private life, polite, agreeable, and hospitable.

John. And what became of Benedict Arnold, sir?

Un. He lived despised, and died unlamented; leaving a stigma on the name. Here let us close our lessons for the present. Read diligently the history of your country; and read, seeking truth. At some future period, I may present to you a more ample history of the City of New York, and its environs.

